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MAY 3, 1948

REPORT ON THE NEW PARTY

By HENRY WALLACE

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CONTENTS FOR MAY 3, 1948

5 The Week:
6 The Coal Settlement
6 Thomas Committee
8 New Headaches in Italy
9 Battle for Ohio
11 Henry Wallace's Column
14 Report on the Nation's Health:
14 A Public Responsibility
15 National Inventory
19 The Political Factor
22 Books
28 Radio
29 Theater
30 Movies

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WASHINGTON WIRE

WE HAVE FELT a lot safer since the DAR's were here last week and passed a resolution against communism. We guess that settles *that.*

Like so many other people, DAR's in large numbers are objectionable, but as individuals they generally turn out to be somebody's Aunt Agatha. They come back to Washington every spring like the robins. They arrive Monday and leave Saturday, and the 5,000 are estimated to use up four orchids each. You haven't really lived till you have seen 5,000 DAR's pledging Allegiance to Our Flag all at the same time.

There were three beribboned DAR's on the sidelines in a fantastic House investigation of the Army's program of current-events talks. We haven't any real hope of conveying the scene. Seems the armed forces have been trying to stimulate good citizenship by holding troop discussions, and Representatives Hoffman, Harness and others have just found it out. The Army brass has the quaint theory that if soldiers know what they are fighting for, they will fight better. (Man named Napoleon had same idea.) To Hoffman and Harness, the idea is shocking. Why, the Army prepared discussion material on geopolitics, race prejudice, democracy and labor unions. The good old Chicago *Tribune* first gave the alarm, followed by columnist David Lawrence.

That leads up to our big scene: a whole bevy of one to three-star generals, looking bewildered, put on the mat by a snarling, witch-hunting Executive Expenditures subcommittee. What a script! "I see nothing wrong with the Army teaching a man to read and write and learning the multiplication tables, if they don't go beyond that," Harness conceded at one point. Congressmen probed suspiciously into the background of handsome, white-haired Brigadier General Charles T. Lanham, head of the Army's Information and Education Division, who wears a kaleidoscope of battle ribbons and decorations.

We have to admit we fell in love with the Army brass. They stood to their guns like soldiers. It seems that this dreadful statement appeared in Armed Forces Talk No. 220 on Labor: "But while strikes are costly to all concerned, and disliked by everyone, including workers, they have not seriously impeded our industrial progress." Pretty subversive propaganda, eh?

That's what started it all. There is a real prospect that Hoffman and Harness will bully the Army out of this educational work. As for us, we shall always cherish the naïve simplicity with which General Lanham observed, "There are only two newspapers which have systematically opposed our program, the *Daily Worker* and the Chicago *Tribune.*"

We dropped in last week to see Judge Goldsborough slap down Miner Lewis and the thing we remember is the way the two carefully avoided each other's eyes after sentence. The Judge went through the usual court routine of asking Lewis' lawyer whether the defendant had any financial problems that would make the $20,000 individual fine excessive. Welly Hopkins hastily said "No." As this delicate matter was probed, the Judge looked at his desk, Lewis at the ceiling.

Goldsborough rocked calmly in his swivel chair all through the proceedings like a piazza vacationist. Lewis didn't say a word. His tremendous personal power hung like an aura over his formidable head even in silence.

Notes. GOP moguls have picked Governor Dwight Green, of Illinois, as convention keynoter. He's an isolationist stooge of Colonel McCormick, and

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THE ITALIAN ELECTIONS MAY BE OVER—BUT...

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it's a bad sign. . . . Inflation shows every sign of hanging a higher price tag on the Marshall Plan. Living costs are inching back up again and nothing short of actual war would induce election-conscious Congress to enact Truman controls. . . . Last year's GOP "economy" cuts are coming home to roost. It is estimated that the $20 million struck from the Internal Revenue Commission's enforcement funds means failure to collect approximately $540 million from rich tax chiselers.

Truman's off-record speech before visiting editors here was enthusiastically received. It dealt with old stuff, but was sincerely and earnestly presented. The experience may encourage him to talk like that on the record. . . . A spectacular attempted grab is the drive of Senator Downey (D, Calif.) to lift the 160-acre "family farm" limitation in parched, fertile Central Valley to benefit monster corporation farms. Reclamation Commissioner Michael Straus is putting up a valiant defense.

The biggest congressional headache today is the defense program. The House sees a chance to duck the controversial UMT issue by voting a huge Air Force. The Senate is less election-minded and is raising objections. . . . The defense dispute makes it glaringly apparent that the so-called unification of the armed forces has failed—another example of half-baked compromise legislation going sour. . . . Defending his house bill last week, Taft made a sturdy denunciation of the real-estate lobby—the lobby calls Taft a "socialist." . . . The Republicans have picked the anti-lynch bill for passage this year, the most emotional and least important of the civil-rights measures. . . . The labor weekly, the *Machinist*, prints the names of 1,132 firms that are charged with anti-trust-law violations, and says, imagine the uproar if that number of unions were indicted. Actually, the indictments have reached a point where the law's breakdown is threatened. . . . Lobbyist registrations quadrupled when the Justice Department started its recent crack-down.

Washington T. R. B.

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VOLUME 118, NUMBER 18, ISSUE 1744, NEW YORK CITY, MAY 3, 1948 **New Republic**

THE WEEK

REJECTED

If we hadn't heard sounds of gnashing of teeth and rending of garments floating up into our windows last week with the spring breezes from Madison Avenue, we wouldn't pass on to you the rest of this sad tale. But the sounds were quite distinct, and our spies explained they were plaints of advertising men in torment because four New York newspapers—the *Times, Herald Tribune, News* and *Journal-American*—had all turned down a full-page advertisement.

It appears that earlier in the week, spring had come to West Thirty-fourth Street and the thoughts of Gimbel's quite naturally turned to a monster sale of mattresses. So on Sunday, April 18, the store ran a big display advertisement in the New York *Times* calling attention modestly to "our greatest mattress sale in two decades." The copy read, ". . . You know this mattress . . . it sells regularly for $59.50. . . . At Gimbels tomorrow you'll save $21.50."

Gimbel's did not identify the well-known mattress it was advertising. But the executives of the Simmons Company, makers of a well-known mattress, got very unhappy. They thought a lot of readers of the ad would think this was their mattress—which it was not.

So they went to the four New York newspapers the next morning, offering a full-page advertisement telling the whole world that this spring, as every spring, their Beautyrest mattress sells for $59.50 and that any illustrations in the newspapers looking like their darling just weren't pictures of the mattress that "*you* know."

We aren't sure just what happened, but the gossip on Madison Avenue says that the Simmons ads were all turned down. Maybe the papers thought it was better to let sleeping dogs lie—on any mattresses they wanted, and at any price. Gimbel's is a big advertiser—a lot bigger (in New York) than Simmons.

PUSHING FOR THE DRAFT

The Army's friends in Congress are now pushing harder than ever for quick passage of Selective Service and Universal Military Training. They argue that if the House is willing to increase the Air Force to 70 groups, it should authorize an 837,000-man Army (by 1950) to back it. The House Republican leadership seems to have made up its mind to support Selective Service in spite of the election. But that is still as far as they dare go.

The Senate, however, may try to insist that the House approve Universal Military Training as well. There is substantial sentiment in the Senate Armed Services Committee for a single "package" bill. Such a bill would probably pass in the Senate at present.

Two things may cause a delay until after the House has acted. First, the incentive to help prevent Italy from turning Communist is gone. And second, many Senators believe that further preparedness legislation should be held up until the armed services are able to bring in a clear, unified program.

If the House acts first, Selective Service alone probably will be considered. Even the church, labor and other opposed groups agree that chances of stopping it are slight. The reason is lack of leadership on their side in either House. Not a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee firmly opposes both UMT and the draft.

Only Senators like Elmer Thomas (D, Okla.), William E. Jenner (R, Ind.) and Edwin C. Johnson (D. Colo.), all tainted by former isolationist records, will be available for floor leadership. House opposition leadership will probably fall into the erratic hands of Dewey Short (R, Mo.)—at least until after November.

HERE WE GO AGAIN

US Steel's surprise price cut sent economists to their slide rules to figure out how much—or how little—the re-

Special Handling

AN AMERICAN citizen who happens to be, among other things, one of the most competent scientific farmers in the world, arranged recently to have a crate of special pedigreed hatching eggs flown in to him from Denmark. The eggs were to be used in experiments leading to the production of more plentiful food for US citizens.

When the crate of precious eggs arrived at LaGuardia Field, the world-famous scientific farmer, who happened to be out of New York, sent his chief poultry breeder to pick it up. The uniformed US customs official, on learning the name of the farmer in question, opened the crate, took out an egg, threw it on the floor, picked up the pieces of shell and put them back into the crate, remarking that the egg "had been broken in transit."

He was, he said, a Democrat, and took a poor view of the famous farmer—who also happens to be Henry A. Wallace, a former Vice President of the US and now a candidate for the presidency.

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Hunter & Hunted

TO A MEETING of the Catholic Daughters of America, in Baltimore, Inspector J. J. McGuire of the Federal Bureau of Investigation has brought a word of consolation. "There is a very wholesome, inherent love of weapons on the part of our youngsters," he said, in reply to a question from the audience. "And the manner in which they play with them is significant. The Robin Hood idea has been dispelled; now they get a kick out of playing the hunter instead of the hunted."

duction of 1.2 percent on the company's 1947 prices would affect consumer prices. Time would be needed, too, to assess the implications of the price cut for pending wage negotiations. One thing was certain: US Steel's move came at a moment when the economy seemed poised for another upward spiral.

The Weyerhaeuser Timber Company, world's largest lumber producer, canceled a 10-percent price cut which had been in effect since January 15. Following a congressional hearing, Weyerhaeuser had announced the price drop and promised to hold the line if others would follow suit. "No other firms followed along and we didn't feel justified in being the only one," a lumber-company spokesman said in announcing the new increase.

With transportation costs one of the main reasons given by the producers of many basic materials for raising their prices, the increase in freight rates announced by the Interstate Commerce Commission this week was expected to create a flock of further price hikes. The 3.6-percent increase, the third since the end of the war, was expected to add $300 million to the nation's annual transportation bill—most of which will be passed on to the consumer.

At the consumer level, price increases were spotted all across the board—from anti-knock gasoline to rugs. Men learned that clothing prices would be higher this fall, with suits running from $1 to $3 over the current price tags. Shoe manufacturers have already indicated their intention of increasing prices by amounts ranging from 50 cents to $4 a pair. Meanwhile, a spot check of retail stores in Philadelphia, reported by the New York *Journal of Commerce,* predicts a general price advance for retail merchandise. And in the food field, spokesmen for the livestock industry were reaffirming their prediction that a rise in meat prices is expected soon.

Even before some of these price increases had registered their effects, the wholesale price index, which had shown signs of a healthy decline after the February break in commodities, turned up again.

There came this week to the *Wall Street Journal* a petulant letter from a Muncie, Indiana, reader: "Perhaps one of your economists can explain something to me. We have, according to many optimistic business papers, just escaped by a close squeak, what might have been the long-heralded 'bust.' . . . Yet in a recent checkup here in the 'Middletown' of America, we found that about 90 percent of housewives . . . are broke . . . savings are depleted. . . . Most of them say they plan to curtail spending. . . . When I add it up, I'm afraid to look at the result."

To this plaintive wail, millions of consumers said amen.

COAL: NOBODY WINS

None of the principals can derive much satisfaction from the course, outcome or implications of the latest Lewis case. US labor, the US courts, Justice Goldsborough, John L. Lewis and the Republican Party all have more reason for regret than for pride.

US labor saw another step taken toward the ominous return of rule by injunction. This device is supposed to prevent damage to property and profits, but in fact it does irreparable harm to the rights of workingmen and the effectiveness of their sole weapons—organization and strike.

The Taft-Hartley Act, opening a whole new field for the use of injunctions, permits them in any strike which may "imperil the national health and safety." This vague definition is being interpreted so loosely, that the minority report of the Joint Committee set up by the T-H Act to report on its development found that "a disturbing pattern is being created which fully justifies the conclusion that the era of government by injunction is being revived."

Justice T. Alan Goldsborough speeded up the trend with one important ruling of fact and a new principle of law. He ruled that "a nod or a wink or a code" was as valid in bringing about a strike as a formal call. He then set forth that a union must be held responsible for the mass action of its members. The "nod-wink-code" ruling could obviously lead to endless petty bickering in future cases.

In addition to his dubious contributions to labor law, Goldsborough cannot be very happy over the course of the case. After finding Lewis guilty of criminal contempt, he said he would not be swayed by expediency in passing sentence. Then he gave the government a day to see what the miners would do, and invited its recommendations. The sentence followed the government request exactly, despite what Goldsborough said was his own inclination to give a jail sentence. Finally, he postponed sentence on the question of Lewis' civil guilt, again holding a club over the heads of the miners.

Lewis hardly increased his stature. After a certain aura of martyrdom has been dissipated, he is likely to appear, to the general public, at least, as an unsuccessful opportunist.

The settlement he obtained of the pension dispute was less favorable than the one he could have had three months ago. He avoided a test of the law on any grounds save the narrow one of contempt. Furthermore, he engaged in a political deal, whose details are not yet known, with the very men, inside and outside Congress, who had most to do with putting the law on the books.

Speaker Martin, Senator Bridges,

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Joseph Pew and the GOP Old Guard he represents are left in the position of having circumvented a test of the law they espoused, while the Truman Administration, which vetoed it, was trying to enforce it. One factor was certainly an attempt to boost the stock of Martin in the face of rising popular support for the (to them) unreliable Stassen.

And what of the miners? They have lost some wages, but they have their pensions. Coal stocks now near zero give them a strong bargaining position. They have shown they could strike, in spite of the T-H Act. The public, and perhaps much of the rest of labor, may conclude that collective bargaining as worked out under the New Deal was, after all, a better way to settle disputes than legal and political shenanigans. The miners, of course, will pay little attention to the ins and outs of Lewis' methods. All they know is that he's the guy who can dish it out as rough and loud as the bosses, and get results.

FOOT IN THE DOOR

J. Parnell Thomas has talked for many months about fashioning a weapon to fight communism. It turns out to be a blunderbuss. The bill aims a blast of buckshot so wide in range that it would mow down half the civil liberties it pretends to be protecting.

The preamble of the bill would set up a congressional *diktat* by which any believer in communism would be *per se* the agent of a foreign power and thus a conspirator against the US. The bill itself calls for registration of all members and contributors to the Communist Party and also of all members of any group designated as a "front" organization.

Obviously, the framers of the bill are worried about its constitutionality. Thomas is trying to get his foot in the door by having Congress declare all Communists to be agents of Soviet Russia. If this were in fact the case, they would be subject to ample existing laws such as the McCormack and Voorhis Registration Acts, and the new bill would be unnecessary.

But Thomas and his cohorts seem to be banking on an eventual Supreme Court decision that would find in the national-security clauses of the Constitution power for Congress to declare, on the basis of the Thomas bill's preamble, that a certain class of citizens is subversive.

The unlikelihood of such a decision has not deterred the framers of the bill—which was written, in its final form, by Allan H. Perley of the House Office of Legislative Counsel. The committee also acknowledges a debt to witnesses, who included Donald Richberg, former NRA head who is now a Washington lawyer, Morris Ernst and two Harvard professors, William Yandell Elliott and Thomas Reed Powell.

The frightening possibility raised by the bill is that if Congress can declare the believers in one political creed (communism, in this instance) to be conspirators against the US, what is to prevent their going farther and ruling that Roman Catholics, trade unionists or any other group are also conspirators?

While this crucial challenge to civil liberties is under consideration, the same issue in another guise is being argued in the Federal District Court of Washington, where the first Hollywood witness, John Howard Lawson, has been found guilty of contempt of the Thomas committee. A like verdict has been handed down against George Marshall, director of the Civil Rights Congress.

Both have challenged the constitutionality of the Un-American Activities Committee and both have suffered from court rulings which hampered their defense. Both intend to appeal. A chance remains that the Supreme Court may give a hint of its position on the matter, even before Congress decides whether to try Thomas' dangerous blunderbuss.

Watch Your Step

THE BUDAPEST *Szabad Nep* (Free People), organ of the Hungarian Communist Party, reports that a General Assembly of Hungarian Women's Organizations has adopted a resolution against the New Look.

Long skirts were denounced as "undemocratic" and also "impractical," since they could be worn "only by frivolous women who never use subways or buses."

BIG MEETING

White Supremacy Democrats from all over the South are preparing for the big meeting scheduled for Jackson, Mississippi, on May 10. There they will decide when and whether to break with the national party of Truman and civil rights.

Alabama Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, Mobile corporation lawyer, has organized Alabama's leading reactionaries into a "State Democratic Campaign Committee." This is publicly blackmailing candidates for delegate to the Democratic National Convention into advance pledges to walk out at Philadelphia if "any part" of President Truman's civil-rights program is adopted in the platform.

McCorvey warned he would give "wide publicity" before the May 4 primary to the list of those who do not agree to bolt on his terms. Twenty-seven candidates for the 34 delegate positions quickly bowed to his will. Governor "Big Jim" Folsom, who is against any walkout, has set out to "free" McCorvey's captive delegates.

Tennessee's Boss Crump has sworn

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NEW HEADACHES IN ITALY

by Claire Neikind

ROME (by wireless)

AMID WIDESPREAD REJOICING over the election results here, there is a pervasive note of embarrassment. The stunning defeat of the Communists has been all very well. But to the non-Communist liberals the landslide vote for the Christian Democrats has been disconcerting. "The bride," suggested one moderate Socialist, "is perhaps a little too beautiful."

For de Gasperi's Catholic party, with an unprecedented, safe majority in both houses of Parliament, needs no other party's aid to be able to rule. It requires no balance-wheel of the moderate Left.

If most people—including the Christian Democrats themselves—were astounded by this record vote, it is because they knew the Catholic party could never win such a victory in any normal election based on the conventional domestic issues. But this was not a normal election. It was essentially a plebiscite between Russia and the Cominform, on the one hand, and America, the Vatican and the Marshall Plan on the other. Faced with these clear alternatives, voters ignored all fringe parties and all extraneous issues. Those who rejected the Communist Party looked for the strongest anti-front, pro-American party they could find. They voted Christian Democrat.

As a result this party has accumulated a bloated vote, swollen to an unnatural size by right-wingers, neo-Fascists, left-wingers, anti-clericals, Free Masons and even Socialists, who voted, not for love of the Christian Democrats, but for fear of the Communist-led popular front.

By so doing, they averted their most imminent danger. The immediate threat of the Communists' taking power here is past; the Front has retired to lick its wounds. Defeat has shaken the confidence of its most loyal followers. It is in no position to resort to violence where the appeal to the ballot failed. Both Togliatti and Socialist Secretary Basso have flatly denied that they will create large-scale disorders for the present.

With the Communist danger tabled temporarily, fresh headaches have taken its place. To reject the Front, voters put into absolute power the party which is not only clerical by definition but conservative by composition as well. It is not for the Fascist Party. But neither is it progressive. In this land-poor, hunger-rimmed country, the normal policy of such a party would almost surely guarantee that the Communists had lost this battle only ultimately to win the war. The Marshall Plan in such hands might be little more than a giant soup kitchen. And it can't last forever.

If the Christian Democrats misjudge this vote and interpret it as a mandate for Catholic rule, a perennial threat of extremism will grow, rather than languish. De Gasperi has already indicated that he is aware of this. As soon as the returns were in, he invited the moderate Left, Republicans and Independent Socialists to join his next cabinet.

For although the Lombardo-Saragat Socialists polled only seven percent of the votes, they are a big potential. Representing a broad if unorganized stream of opinion which is Socialist, between the Clericals and the Communists, these men are straining every nerve to weld such middle-ground opinion into a consolidated Third Force.

Almost certainly de Gasperi will try to persuade his party to offer this faction strategic ministries. But it remains to be seen whether he can convince his by now cocky party to agree.

that "we will never vote for Harry Truman down this way," and he will undoubtedly be able to hold a part of Tennessee's voters.

The Talmadge forces in Georgia are preparing an even deeper last ditch from which to carry on the fight against Truman. Secretary of State Ben Fortson has taken advantage of the Republican National Committee's action—in recognizing a rump "lily-white" slate of delegates for the Republican convention instead of the "Regular" organization of past years—to refuse to provide the machinery for a primary.

In 1944, although the Regulars had national sanction, Georgia state officials placed another mixed slate on the ballot. At that time, the Regulars charge, Talmadge's motive was to set up an electoral alternative to Roosevelt and the Democrats in case he wanted it in the general election. Should the '48 convention come out four-square for civil-liberties laws, Georgia White Supremacists would still have a back door through which to revolt, by joining the lily-white Republicans on the general election ballot.

PATTERN

Langston Hughes, the Negro poet, is touring the nation, "giving the same lecture I've been giving for years,

DRAWING BY FRASCONI

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about poetry and writing." Yet in town after town of California, Illinois and Ohio, his bookings have been canceled after local defamation campaigns, which have followed an ominously similar pattern.

First, letters to the newspapers denounce him as "Communistic and atheistic." These fairly vague words are presumably used because there is clear evidence that he is neither a Communist nor an atheist. Then local citizens call on the sponsors, usually interracial groups, to try to get them to cancel bookings.

In Vallejo, California, it was the American Legion, the Knights of Columbus, and the Exchange Club. In Pasadena it was something called "Pro America." In Springfield, Illinois, it was the American Legion. In Akron, Ohio, Hughes believes pressure was brought by the Community Chest on the YWCA to refuse its hall.

"They say these attacks are anti-Red," Hughes says, "but it all starts with anti-Negro and anti-FEPC programs."

INVESTORS UNAFRAID

Moving into new high ground last week despite some of the worst business news since the end of the war, the stock market proved that the current profit rate was not too low to stimulate investment.

The same day that the market established a 1948 high, duPont announced that per-share earnings had fallen below 1947 for the first quarter, and General Mills closed down the world's largest flour mill, in Buffalo, because of a slump in demand. Luxury business was reported away off, with Florida hotels winding up a bad season and race-track attendance reduced by 82,000 from last season. The cosmetics industry was in the doldrums. The stock-market peak was matched by a new postwar high for industrial failures.

Obviously, none of these things frightened investors. Their recent fears seemed to be gone, with the promise of increased government spending to boost business at home and sustain the export market abroad.

BATTLE FOR OHIO

by Michael Straight

STEUBENVILLE, OHIO

IT'S SPRINGTIME, sweet and mild, in the Midwest as Taft and Stassen battle for Ohio's delegates. Dogwood and redbud fill the woods in southwestern Ohio, where Stassen has pushed his way into Taft's political heartland. Fruit blossoms, white and lovely, cover the hills of the northeast, where Taft has countered. As far as the battle of ideas, promised by Stassen, is concerned, spring in its mildness has won. Stassen has said little that Taft hadn't said, and Taft has said little that McKinley didn't say.

Touring through McKinley country, Taft told schoolchildren how as a little boy he had sat on the great man's knee, and added, "I have been trying for eight years to reëstablish some of the principles of liberty in which McKinley believed." He lectured the children on the details of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Moving southward, Taft took off his hat and spoke from the steps of the Lisbon courthouse. The spring breeze stirred the few strands of hair combed over the dome of his head. One hundred people listened quietly, half of them county clerks brought out from the old building and glad of a chance to stand in the morning sunshine and watch the elms and maples budding into leaves.

The day grew warmer. At Carrollton, in the public square, the high-school band, dressed in black and gold, perspired as it played "I'm Forever Blowing Bubbles" and "Put on Your Old Gray Bonnet." Old men sitting on the public benches leaned on their canes and spat. In the courthouse, facing the A & P, there were notices, "Win with Taft," in every window. And Taft, standing on the yellow wagon of the Farmers Exchange, repeated his lecture to silent farmers and children let out of school.

At Cadiz, the courthouse, from which his father once expressed similar views to larger crowds, was done up in flags and bunting. Excited children and a few loyal supporters surrounded Taft, but across the street stood a line of frowning miners, still on strike and smarting. "Son of a bitch," they muttered. "Shoulda been hung before he was born! Shouldn't have stuck his nose into organized labor." They shouted interruptions, and quite typically, Taft repeated his defense of every detail of his law without altering a phrase.

Miners aside, on that spring day it was hard to believe that this courteous, didactic man was a hard-pressed candidate for the presidency, fighting to hold his own. The references of local politicians to "our next President" seemed unkind, even grotesque. Taft was the benevolent squire moving among his dependents with an easy handshake, a benign smile, a casual word, a handsome insistence on greeting the humblest and poorest.

His speech in spirit sounded like one lifted from a trunk in his father's attic: decent and honest and exactly as lifelike as the fine old cannon mounted in the courthouse squares. He attacked communism and defended the rights of Communists; attacked UMT and called for a large air force; attacked the wickedness of federal intervention and stoutly defined the Taft-Hartley Act. But most of all he belabored the New Deal, blowing up dry dust around a long-laid ghost.

Of Stassen, Taft spoke with obvious horror and pain. His own policies, Taft said, were exactly those of the Republican Party. If Stassen disagreed with Taft's views, then he disagreed with the views of the Republican Party. That meant, Taft said, that he must be a New Dealer. "It ill behooves Stassen," said Taft, "to criticize the Republicans who have been fighting in the front-line trenches." Where was Stassen during the battle against the New Deal? he asked, and answering his own question, he added that Stassen was AWOL, gallivanting around campaigning for the presidency and

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mouthing fine-sounding generalities.

Taft moved through Ohio with the outworn grace of a coach and four, Stassen with the brutal force of an armored car.

Stassen's much publicized modernism lay in his technique alone. His meetings were packed with young and cheering crowds. His one speech was up-to-date and persuasive. His manner in handling questions was smooth. "First the lady with the red hat; then you, sir, in the back of the hall." His answers were well-rounded and satisfying.

As if having a presidential candidate visit each little town to answer questions was not flattering enough, the chairman ended with, "Now Governor Stassen will be glad to shake everyone's hand." Stassen, springing down from the platform, rushed each time to the entrance. There he took a firm stance, grabbed the hand of each nervous and surprised Ohioan, flashed a glassy smile, and with a wrench of his forearm down and back, propelled them along with the force of an Indian wrestler throwing his opponent. In this way Stassen shook hands with fifty people a minute, filling hotel foyers, hall entrances and crowded streets with beaming faces and delighted cries of "Shake the hand that shook the hand . . ." and "Strong as an ox, ain't he?"

Shocked and embittered, Taft kept asking, "Where does he disagree with me?" Stassen, who declared that the battle was one of issues, never answered. He had no program. His strongest demand was for the prompt outlawing of the Communist Party, not only in America but in all free countries.

This demand—delivered in a crescendo of oratory—was greeted with tremendous applause, loud laughter and resounding cheers. Communists he defined for skeptical questioners as people who "deny the fatherhood of God," and who "seek to further the foreign policy of the Kremlin." Outlawing the Communist Party, he immediately added, was no violation of free speech.

Stassen did question the most extreme provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. He did favor World Federation. He did express the belief that ultimately the USSR and the US might live in friendship. On UMT he hedged: he had been for it because Eisenhower was for it. Now, he said, he was inclined to oppose it because the overwhelming majority of the people are not for it. He proposed a "selective service and training act" administered by Congress, in accordance with "the American way." Like most of his programs, it was, as one journalist said, "More than nothing and less than something."

Everyone who heard Stassen agreed with all that he said and no one knew quite what he meant. Every one of his tory demands was clothed in liberal language. Every liberal suggestion was qualified at once, and wrapped in tory winding sheets. In a state ridden by machine corruption he never mentioned boss rule. In a region governed by giant corporations, and in a nation threatened with militarization and intolerance, he made no mention of the powerful forces which dominate his party and our lives.

No issue has been stated in Ohio; yet an issue has been drawn. Ohioans know what Taft stands for: a nation governed by initiative fittingly rewarded, kept in balance by self-interest, holding in tight rein an alien and remote national government, and correcting its excesses of misery through bounties distributed by the wealthy and the benevolent among the grateful and indigent.

In a state that is conservative by nature, and prosperous by effort, this viewpoint corresponds to deep-laid prejudices: dislike of interference, resentment against taxes levied to aid slackers, suspicion of the faraway, fear of the unknown. Yet here Taft's appeal stops, and beyond this there are other feelings that he cannot bring himself to express: powerful frustration, real want, deep insecurity, all creating an urgent desire for change. Stassen, voicing all the contradictions and some of the virtues of the middle class, expresses also its unnamed restlessness, its latent idealism and its incoherent desire to move on.

All this emerges in the two campaigns. Taft is the face on the poster in the courthouse window—the machine's man. Stassen is the man who made opposition to Taft respectable. Taft's slate of delegates is the machine slate: lawyers made great by patronage and judges grown old and sour. Stassen's delegates are a diverse crowd of amateurs: young veterans; businessmen; civic leaders; crusading ministers; AFL business agents, and one official of the Rubber Workers, CIO.

These various individuals are bucking the machine; bucking the favorite-son sentiment; bucking tradition. But they are working under expert direction, and with plenty of money, in the industrial districts where the ferment is greatest. They are banking on Taft's unpopularity in Ohio; on labor's hatred for the author of the Taft-Hartley Act and on labor's willingness, already shown in Wisconsin, to cross over to the Republican side for the primary.

A further source of strength and inspiration among his backers is Stassen's momentum, which, if it continues in Ohio, can carry him past Oregon to his goal at Philadelphia. Sure, Stassen is straddling and backsliding, they say; he has to, in order to win the Republican nomination. After that he will show himself as the liberal that he really is. This secret seems to be shared by many voters. They have a sneaking feeling that their Senator would make an awful President. If they vote against him it will be because of a general sense that Stassen belongs to today's world and that Taft does not.

How it will come out on May 4 is anybody's guess. At Lisbon, Walter Kay, running for sheriff in the Republican primaries on the simple slogan, "Abolish Crime," moved among the little crowd, handing out match boxes to the men and nail files to the women.

"How will it come out?" he said. "I ain't predicting; but on May 4 at least I'll know how many liars there are in Columbiana County."

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HENRY WALLACE'S COLUMN

A Report on the New Party

THE NEW PARTY is now four months old and it is time to check up on its health and weight. In New York and Chicago the enthusiasm is unbounded. I had expected that. What I had not expected was such intensity of interest in the medium-sized and small towns. This was demonstrated at the Chicago meeting on April 10, which delegates from 43 states attended.

There for the first time it became clearly apparent to everyone that the campaign of systematic intimidation would not work. Good Americans resent terrorism and appeals to prejudice in the US. The attempt to destroy by acts of violence or more indirect intimidation the crusade for peace that our New Party is carrying out is only strengthening the resolution of our adherents and opening the eyes of many persons outside our ranks. People are learning that these attacks against the New Party are also blows against basic civil liberties, and they are becoming more aware that the fight for civil liberties is an integral part of the work to maintain the peace.

The assaults on our party are a tribute to its importance. No other third party in the history of our country has had its significance so quickly recognized by the reactionaries in the old parties. Lies, violence and press boycotts are problems the New Party will overcome. They do not frighten us. On the contrary, many of our people are risking their jobs, social positions, even their personal friendships, to stand up for our program of peace because they know they are acting, not as a tiny handful, but as representatives of the hopes and aspirations of millions of their fellow citizens.

There are many eloquent examples of this willingness to accept the challenge of the reactionaries, and unfortunately for the great traditions of democracy, justice and adherence to law of our country, there also are many cases of challenges to be met. I have already reported that Dr. George Parker, professor of Bible and Philosophy at Evansville College, was dismissed because he presided at a meeting at which I spoke. Two women delegates from Oklahoma, on their way to attend our Chicago conference, were stopped by highway policemen because they had collected signatures from Negroes on our petitions in Oklahoma. The questions put to them by the police strongly suggested that the information about their activities had been obtained by wire tapping. And while their car was being practically torn apart in the search, a mobile unit of an Oklahoma congressional candidate placarded with signs proclaiming "White Supremacy" and a "Christian America" rolled by unmolested.

Such flagrant violations as these fired the determination of the delegates to the Chicago conference to redouble the energy of their fight for civil liberties in the US. Elsewhere, too, our people have faced up to the challenge. In Pittsburgh, for example, the *Press* published on its front page the names of local citizens who had signed our petitions in Pennsylvania, hoping to capitalize on the hysteria the newspapers have been fomenting. I am told that the *Press* also telephoned to signers suggesting withdrawal of signatures. Nevertheless, only a handful have yielded.

The fighting spirit of our supporters was also shown at Evansville, where those who broke through the gantlet of hoodlums to attend the meeting I addressed had to be restrained by our local leaders from driving away the ringleaders of the mob. I felt this fighting spirit also at Gary and Indianapolis, where large and enthusiastic gatherings of our supporters gave an effective answer to Evansville's organized mob of workers. It was a tribute to the patriotism and good sense of the people of Indiana that many prominent citizens of the state were deeply disturbed by the implications of the Evansville outbreak.

Most of our committees and New Party organizations have also had to meet daily examples of discrimination such as that described, for instance, by our Alabama workers. In that state, local politicians have denied our people the use of public buildings as meeting places. Unable to rent an office, our people have been forced to work wherever they could find a chair and place a typewriter. The local press has not only refused coverage to our meetings but tried to tie us in with the Communists so as to frighten many persons away from the open support they otherwise would have given us. Despite all this, our new petition campaign is going full blast and May 4 has been set as the date for a convention to found an Alabama Progressive Party.

The delegates at Chicago, 400 of them from 43 of the 45 states where New Party agencies already are functioning, were lawyers and businessmen, members and leaders of trade unions, women, college professors, Negroes, farmers, professional people and veterans. Although there were many long-time fighters in the continuing struggle for progressive ideas, the accent was on youth and on the rank and file. For many, this was their first participation in a political campaign. Young and old, representative of all regions and all sections of the US population, they created a feeling of common purpose and confidence such as we have never had before.

Negro citizens are taking leading roles in building the New Party, and their work is particularly important in the South, where our party is in the

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forefront of the struggle for equality and non-segregation. In Georgia, for example, one of the key issues is the effort to break the segregation ordinance in Atlanta.

White people in the South have frequently insisted that they are doing "good works" for the Negro and should not be interfered with. What a contrast this makes with the attitude of one of our Georgia workers, who says, "In the New Party movement, the Negroes are doing things for the white people. I want the Negroes to have full credit and the whole country to appreciate their contribution."

All through the country the New Party is winning a warm reception from the Negro people. They do not regard it simply as a mechanism through which to register a protest vote. They see it as a strong instrument with which to fight for their rights and they are participating, not as a voting bloc, but as fighting equals.

Mrs. Rebecca Styles Taylor symbolized the spirit of the Negro members of the New Party when she told the Chicago conference that "Negro women of America are no longer like helpless birds beating their wings against an iron cage. They are free citizens who will exercise without fear, without compromise, their rights at the polls. They will use their ballots to stop the bullets that are being fashioned for the wanton slaughter of our countrymen." On their own initiative, Negro women of Chicago's South Side organized a reception for me which proved their determination to make the New Party their party.

Negroes see no hope in the old parties which condone the survival of the white primaries and practise white supremacy, and which have entered a so-called "gentlemen's agreement" not to write equal rights and opportunities for Negroes into law.

In Maryland, one of the three New Party congressional candidates is a Negro physician, Dr. J. T. Camper, the first Negro candidate to file for office in the history of the state.

In San Antonio, G. J. Sutton, a New Party candidate, was recently elected to the city's school board, and this was the first time in Texas history that a Negro has held an elective post higher than that of precinct captain in the Democratic Party.

In Philadelphia, a leading Negro citizen, Judge Rainey, is the Progressive Party's candidate for Congress in the Fourth District.

Dr. George Campbell, another distinguished Negro citizen, will run for Congress on our ticket in New Jersey.

In Alabama, seven of the party's 17 electors are Negroes. In California the Independent Progressive Party is running Negro candidates for Congress.

We are proud of the courage and initiative taken by the Negroes in building our common party, in which they are fighting not only for their own rights but for the rights of all free Americans.

I have been tremendously impressed by the leadership and activity of the women in our movement. This participation of women from all over the country was reflected at the Chicago conference by the presence of some 80 delegates from about 30 states. Women from 22 states founded our women's division. In California, two-thirds of the work on all levels is being done by women, and eight of them are running for Congress on our ticket.

Women are particularly active in the South. In Oklahoma, two women collected 2,000 of the 8,000 signatures on the state petition. The state directors in Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina and Missouri are women. Women hold leading positions in every other state in which our organizations are functioning, and in many of these states, too, our party is nominating and strongly supporting women candidates for office.

I believe that the active participation of women in the New Party stems from their great stake in the fight for peace. Women don't raise their sons to be killed in war. They are angered by the bipartisan conspiracy to promote inflation. Therefore, they are an integral part of our leadership and rank and file. And in our party, the women are true citizens, not merely members of a bloc of voters to be wooed in an election year.

The New Party is also a focus for groups of foreign-born Americans and their children. As is only natural, while adopting America as their new home, they wish to retain and develop their own cultural heritage. They find in the New Party an attitude quite different from that of the older ones, which condemn such groups to year-round discrimination and poverty, and then woo them with empty and hypocritical promises just before Election Day.

Recognizing and approving our attitude, these nationality groups have been giving back-breaking work to the initial efforts to get the New Party organized. For example, they have taken the lead in many heavy-industry communities, where some top union leaders have been opposed to our movement. Twenty-three nationalities were represented at the Chicago conference and, already, 13 nationality groups have been set up. In the Southwest, Spanish Americans in five states are responding enthusiastically to the New Party, and in California three Spanish Americans are running for Congress on our ticket.

Labor's attitude toward the New Party was expressed by a shop-steward delegate to the Chicago conference, who said, "This is our party." Nearly all of the labor delegates at the conference were rank-and-file leaders reflecting the realization of their co-workers that they have nothing to expect from the old parties but further betrayal of their interests and their economic and political rights. The delegates came from 32 states and represented more than 30 different unions, including the AFL, the CIO, the Railroad Brotherhoods and other organizations. They set up a labor division, electing a 15-man executive board headed by Albert J. Fitzgerald, president of the CIO United Electrical Workers.

The hopes of our labor supporters are high and their plans justifiably

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ambitious. They plan to form New Party committees in every major plant and community in the nation, in order to obtain signatures for putting our ticket on the ballot everywhere and to foster a nationwide registration drive. They are supporting us because we stand for the right to organize, for genuine collective bargaining, for higher living standards and improved working conditions, and for a strong labor movement as an indispensable element in a genuine and strong democracy.

They are turning away from the old parties to us because they recognize that the New Party is their effective political weapon in their work for economic security in a world at peace, and against the Taft-Hartley Act and government by injunction.

A balance sheet of the New Party at this time reveals differences in the level of organization among the states. The Illinois Progressive Party, for example, has learned the practical lessons of politics by building ward and precinct organizations in Chicago and downstate. It is making a really professional effort to base itself on ward organization in Chicago, and is building a machine to fight on real issues—the draft, peace, militarization, inflation.

In California, as in New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, we are already on the ballot. California's Independent Progressive Party began its work seven months ago, conducting, not a big city campaign, but one which was concentrated in smaller communities and rural areas. The California party, having collected close to half a million signatures, is now consolidating organizationally and is building clubs in every district.

The founding convention of the party in Pennsylvania, at York, March 7, was described by the Harrisburg *Evening News* as the largest political gathering ever held in Pennsylvania. The Pennsylvania party is running seven independent candidates for Congress. It is planning a School for Political Action early in May, which will be attended by some 400 people.

The Massachusetts Progressive Party is already turning out leaflets in four languages. Its founding convention was attended by representatives from 122 cities, towns and villages, 20 nationality groups, 50 trade-union locals, four religious faiths, 20 colleges, 86 schools.

In the state of Washington, the Progressive forces expect, as of today, to elect at least three of the state's five United States Representatives, a Governor, and county officers all the way down the line. In the Thirty-first District in Seattle, 27 out of 32 Democratic precinct committeemen resigned to join our party.

In other states, by contrast, organizational work is just beginning, and many face difficult legal, financial and other problems. In Nevada, there was not a single progressive organization until our people got together to work for the New Party. Nevada progressives were without trained forces, and they are compelled to acquire training in leadership as they go along. In South Carolina, we anticipate no difficulty in getting on the ballot since "we will print them ourselves." There, the ballot is presented at the polls and marked publicly. South Carolina is the only state in the union where there is no secret ballot, and members of the New Party will really have to stand up and be counted.

The North Carolina state board of elections recently issued new rules governing third-party organization, in an effort to keep us off the ballot. The law requires the signatures of 10,000 qualified voters to get a New Party candidate on the ballot. The Board of Elections has now imposed a fee of 10 cents a name for checking signatures on the petition.

Throughout the country, legal and extra-legal obstacles are being put in the way of the New Party. But they are being overcome. Every state director who reported to the Chicago conference was confident that we would be on the ballot in his state. Reports to our national organization indicate that we shall be on the ballot in 46 states in the November election.

It is heartening to learn, from individual reports from all over the country, that people in all walks of life are taking part in the building of the party. In Minnesota, for example, an Arts, Sciences and Professions Committee has been the core of the leadership. In the same state, a women's group from the Independent Voters of Minnesota has set up a committee, while CIO members have created a labor committee. A statewide farm committee is coöperating with the other groups.

In Iowa, progressive farmers are playing a leading role, but we are also winning support from labor, which has been angered by the anti-labor legislation adopted in that state.

Typical of the breadth of our scope is the situation in New Jersey where our congressional candidates include three CIO leaders, an auto worker, a steelworker, a farm leader, an outstanding Negro and three women.

The lesson of the Chicago Conference is that peace, freedom and economic security can be won. The New Party is organizing, is gaining the support of the American people. Although largely cut off from the major media of communication, the message of the New Party will reach the people through the untiring efforts of its foot soldiers. They are speaking out against the war program and organizing their neighbors in the fight for peace.

The American people will learn the truth, in the New Party. They will see through the lies and the war hysteria. They will stand up and be counted. The New Party, as the party of the people, will have the strength of truth and numbers. I am happy that I can report that our movement, launched only a few months ago, has already gained such momentum that it has become a major political force in the country. We are no longer a minority. The people are on the march and joining the New Party. They will write the future history of this country.

Henry A Wallace

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79TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 1050

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MAY 24, 1945

Mr. WAGNER (for himself and Mr. MURRAY) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Finance

THE HEALTH OF AMERICANS

THE HEALTH of our citizens is our most precious national asset.

We learned this fact over again, if we needed the lesson, during the Second World War, when we lost the services of about five million potential soldiers because of physical defects. Many of these defects were remediable; most of them were incurred and continued because the victims could not afford the medical service required to set them right.

The articles in this special issue of the *New Republic* makes these points:

There are not enough doctors, hospitals, clinics and medical laboratories in the United States to safeguard the health of our citizens.

The facilities and personnel that we do possess are badly distributed.

Well-to-do individuals living in cities, especially in the North, have a disproportionately large share of these facilities, though even for them the situation is far from satisfactory.

In other parts of the country, especially rural areas, and especially in the South, millions of people live where there are few doctors or none; few hospitals or none. In a large proportion of cases, such hospitals as do exist are understaffed and badly equipped; such doctors as are available are overworked and underpaid and are unable to keep themselves abreast of the rapidly developing science and art of medical practice. Not only the poor, but most members of the middle class, find a serious illness in the family a financial disaster, and especially in these days of monetary inflation.

First in a Series of Special Reports on

1948: THE ISSUES

Prepayment plans for hospitalization and medical care are better than nothing; but as Carl Malmberg shows in this issue, the majority of our people do not have hospitalization, and the number with prepaid doctor's care is insignificant. The protection given under hospitalization is usually brief, and tragically so in the case of many serious illnesses. Moreover, those who benefit from present private plans are rarely those who most need protection.

Two bills for federal aid to the nation's health have been introduced in Congress, the Taft-Smith-Ball-Donnell bill and the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill. In the following pages are set forth our reasons for believing that the second of these is far superior to the first. The Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, over a period of a decade, would make available a large sum in grants and loans to the states for hospitals and health centers. This money would be used to provide these facilities in the areas where they are most needed, without reference to any form of "capacity to pay." On the same basis, it would make federal grants to the states for public and health services. Special aid would be given mothers and children, the blind and the aged.

Despite the merits of the W-M-D bill, it is clear that neither this Congress nor any future one which continues to be dominated by a conservative majority will pass it unless prodded into doing so by an aroused public opinion. The W-M-D bill has already languished for almost three years in a committee pigeonhole.

The *New Republic* favors the immediate passage of the Wagner-Mur-

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ray-Dingell bill, for the reasons stated. We recognize, however, that even if it is enacted into law, the problem of the nation's health will not have been solved. Even under this plan, large numbers of individuals will still continue to struggle with their medical problems in their own way, as best they can, and at very great financial sacrifice.

In this country, we do not ask *anybody* to pay out of his own pocket to ensure that his drinking water, or the milk he buys, are pure; nor do we force those who cannot afford such payment to accept germ-filled water and milk. As for diseases spread by contaminated liquids, we recognize the responsibility of the community as a whole for the health of each citizen. Why should we make a distinction between these diseases and the others which result from bad housing, inadequate diet, insufficient rest and recreation, lack of periodic physical examination, or the failure, *for any reason,* to receive the best advice and care which medical science is today able to offer?

The answer is, of course, that there is no logical distinction. All over the world, governments based on widely differing ideologies are coming to recognize the responsibility of the state in this matter. For its own survival, if for no more altruistic reason, the state is everywhere learning that only a healthy citizen is a good citizen. The full obligation which the American people owe to themselves will never be met until we turn to our government for aid to health just as readily as we now turn to the Fire Department to help put out a fire.

THE STATE OF THE NATION'S HEALTH

by Carl Malmberg

THE UNITED STATES has a relatively good health record, in comparison with other countries. But its situation does not give it the preëminent position one would expect from the richest, most prosperous nation in the world, with the best medical resources. And the discrepancies in regard to health between rich and poor, privileged and under-privileged groups of the citizenry make an unpleasantly eloquent commentary on the US democratic tradition of free and equal opportunity.

As the National Health Assembly meets in Washington, May 1 to 4, ten years after the first National Health Conference convened in the Capital, it remains true that, though surveys of US health deficiency have been frequent, remedial action along a broad and well-integrated front still is lacking. The conferees will note, as has been done regularly through the years, that the US regions with the highest disease and death rates are those with the lowest per-capita income, the highest proportion of rural population and the most severe shortages of doctors and hospitals.

The population of the US as a whole is by no means the healthiest in the world, though improvements in the relative status have lifted our standing in recent years in regard to such important health indices as infant mortality. Thanks in part to the government-financed maternal and infant-care program for servicemen's wives, the infant death rate in 1945 was only 38.3 per 1,000 live births, and the 1946 estimate showed a further drop to 34.5. Maternal mortality fell from 4.4 deaths among every 1,000 mothers in 1938 to 1.6 in 1946. However, in 1938—the last year when conditions made a really accurate comparison possible—we ranked eighth among the nations in infant mortality, and in 1943—the last year for which reliable international statistics were available—we were sixth. As compared with our maternal mortality rate of 4.4 per 1,000 in 1938, Sweden in that year reported 2.4; Denmark, 3.1; England and Wales, 3.4; Germany, 3.7; New Zealand, 4.1; Switzerland, 4.2; Canada, 4.2.

The average life expectancy among Americans at birth has increased from about 50 years at the turn of the century to about 67 years. But prewar figures indicate that life expectancy at birth among US white males was then less than in four other countries; at age 20, less than in eight other countries; at age 40, less than in eleven; and at age 60, less than in twelve.

More significant than international comparisons are the discrepancies in disease and death rates in different regions of the United States. A com-

INFANT MORTALITY IN SELECTED COUNTRIES

1938*		1943	
COUNTRY	DEATHS PER 1,000 LIVE BIRTHS	COUNTRY	DEATHS PER 1,000 LIVE BIRTHS
Iceland	28	Sweden	28.6
New Zealand	36	New Zealand	31.4
Netherlands	37	Australia	36.3
Norway	37	Netherlands	39.5
Australia	38	Switzerland	39.8
Sweden	42	United States	40.4
Switzerland	43		
United States	51		

* *Last normal prewar year*

Carl Malmberg, former Information Specialist for the US Public Health Service and chief investigator for the Senate Subcommittee on Health and Education, is the author of the recent book, 140 Million Patients.

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DEATH RATES IN TWO AREAS

Cause of death	Death rate per 100,000 population in New England	Death rate per 100,000 population E. S. C. States	Excess of rate in E. S. C. States over New England
Tuberculosis	38.2	54.4	1 1/2 times higher
Acute rheumatic fever	0.8	1.2	1 1/2 " "
Syphilis	7.6	12.6	1 2/3 " "
Pregnancy & childbirth	3.5	8.1	2 1/3 " "
Measles	0.7	2.2	3 " "
Diarrhea & enteritis	5.3	14.9	3 " "
Whooping cough	0.7	3.2	4 1/2 " "
Typhoid & paratyphoid fevers	0.1	0.7	7 " "
Diphtheria	0.2	1.7	8 1/2 " "
Pellagra	0.1	2.6	26 " "
Dysentery	0.1	3.1	31 " "

parison of 1944 death rates for the New England States with corresponding rates in four East South Central States (Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi) is striking indeed (see table).

Although economic factors are primarily responsible for such amazing discrepancies, unequal availability of medical care also is important. Most of the diseases listed are preventable, and mortality from all of them falls off sharply when proper medical care is obtained. The economic factor and the unavailability of medical care are inextricably interwoven. Doctors go where they can find paying patients, hospital facilities and urban advantages.

The most penalized regions from the health viewpoint are those with the lowest per-capita income and the largest proportion of rural population. It is to be noted that non-farm families, with net incomes two and one-half times that of farm families, spent twice as much on medical care. In the 18-19 age groups, farm youths had the highest draft-rejection rate of any occupational group.

As our chart shows, New York has one active doctor for every 525 persons; Massachusetts, one for 593; and Kansas, one for 959. However, several states are far behind, Mississippi having only one practising physician for every 1,606 persons. Discrepancies in physician resources within the borders of states are even greater than between states. Tennessee, for example, has one active doctor for every 1,000 persons in certain urban centers, but in some rural regions the ratio is as low as one for 9,000.

In general, any ratio of more than 1,000 persons to one doctor cannot be considered adequate. It is significant, therefore, that a 1947 survey conducted by the American Medical Association showed that about 1,100 counties in the US—more than one-third the total number—had only one practising physician for from 1,500 to 3,000 persons. More than 300 counties had only one doctor for more than 3,000 persons, and 73 counties, of which 33 had populations in excess of 3,000, had no doctor at all. According to the secretaries of the various state medical societies, general practitioners have been requested by 1,369 communities throughout the nation.

Moreover, many of the doctors practising in rural regions are older men. Other surveys indicate that only one in ten rural counties has an accredited pediatrician. Until recently, according to another survey, rural counties in New Hampshire, Idaho, Nevada and South Dakota lacked qualified certified obstetricians.

Maldistribution of hospital facilities parallels to a considerable extent the maldistribution of doctors. In New York there is one general hospital bed for each 196 persons, but there is one for every 263 persons in the nation as a whole, one for 667 persons in Mississippi, and 1,300 counties have no general hospitals at all.

Sixteen states, most of them predominantly urban, have four or more general hospital beds for each 1,000 of the population. They are Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, California, Oregon, Colorado, Montana, Arizona and Nevada. On the other hand, seven Southern states have two beds or less per 1,000. These are Kentucky, South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, Georgia and Arkansas.

In 1944, the five states with the lowest proportion of births in hospitals had maternal mortality rates averaging more than twice as high as those of the five states where the highest proportion of births took place in hospitals.

The 40-percent rejection rate among men examined by Selective Service during World War II indicts US medical-care standards. Apologists for the medical status quo deny that the draft figures constitute an index of the general state of the nation's health, but they can't gloss over the fact that one-sixth of the defects for which men were rejected were "easily remediable" in the opinion of the chief medical officer. Criticism of the use of the draft figures to show that all is not well in our medical setup is based on the undisputed fact that many of the rejected men were not actually "sick people" suffering from conditions "which are really disabling." This was testimony given by Dr. Harvey B. Stone on behalf of the American Medical Association at Senate committee hearings in 1944.

But such criticism betrays a very limited view of medicine's function since it assumes that the doctor's job is to treat people only after they become "really sick," instead of also undertaking to prevent so-called trivial conditions from becoming serious. Also typical of the reactionary attitude is the contention that most draft rejections were for conditions over which medicine has no control. For example, Dr. R. L. Sensenich of the AMA testified at Senate committee hearings on the two major health bills now before

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Congress that the "largest number of rejections were for mental and neuropsychiatric conditions for which nothing could have been done medically at any stage." When Senator James E. Murray asked if this was not attributable in some degree to lack of medical care, lack of proper treatment at the proper time, Dr. Sensenich said "No."

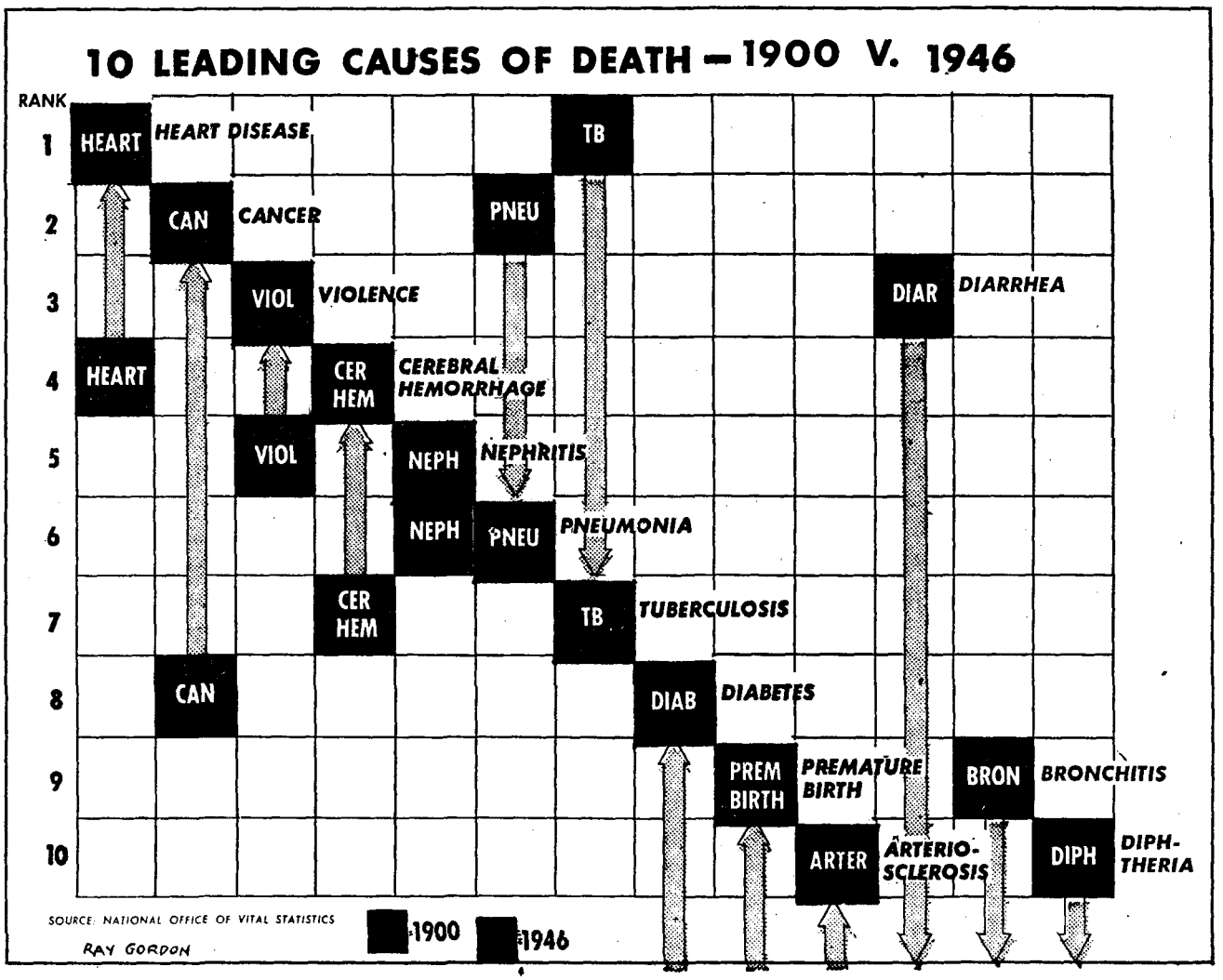
Such a blind denial of responsibility must have come as a surprise to psychiatrists and others who regard the prevention and treatment of neuropsychiatric conditions as a very important part of medical practice. Experts estimate that about half of hospitalized mental illness could be prevented by application of present-day psychiatric knowledge and techniques, with a saving to taxpayers of more than $100 million a year.

Further evidence that proper medical attention would have meant fewer rejections is provided by a study of the rejection rate among young men who spent their childhood in five North Carolina orphanages. Of 1,138 former students called by Selective Service, only 16—or 1.4 percent—failed to pass their examinations. On the other hand, the rejection rate for men in the state of North Carolina as a whole was 56.8 percent! Dr. Clarence Poe, a member of the North Carolina Hospital and Medical Care Commission, explained that "the boys in the orphanages are not coddled, are not given luxuries. They are given sound nutrition and reasonably adequate medical and hospital care."

President Truman has made his own recommendations for a health program, as reported elsewhere in this issue. The heart of his program is, of course, compulsory health insurance. Until the cost of medical care to the individual is reduced through nationwide pooling of risks and sharing of expenses, accomplishment along any of the other four lines of recommended action will be limited.

We could set aside unlimited funds for the construction of hospitals and clinics, but this would not make it easier for people of small or average means to avail themselves of their services. Hospitals, like hotels, must have paying guests. It costs about one-fourth as much to operate a hospital for a year as it does to build it.

We could appropriate much larger sums for public-health activities, but dividends on the public-health dollar will remain relatively low as long as most medical care is dispensed on a "come and get it if you can pay for it" basis. A large share of public-health expenditures today goes for treatment of the end results of medical neglect. Tuberculosis is a case in point. If everyone had ready access to good



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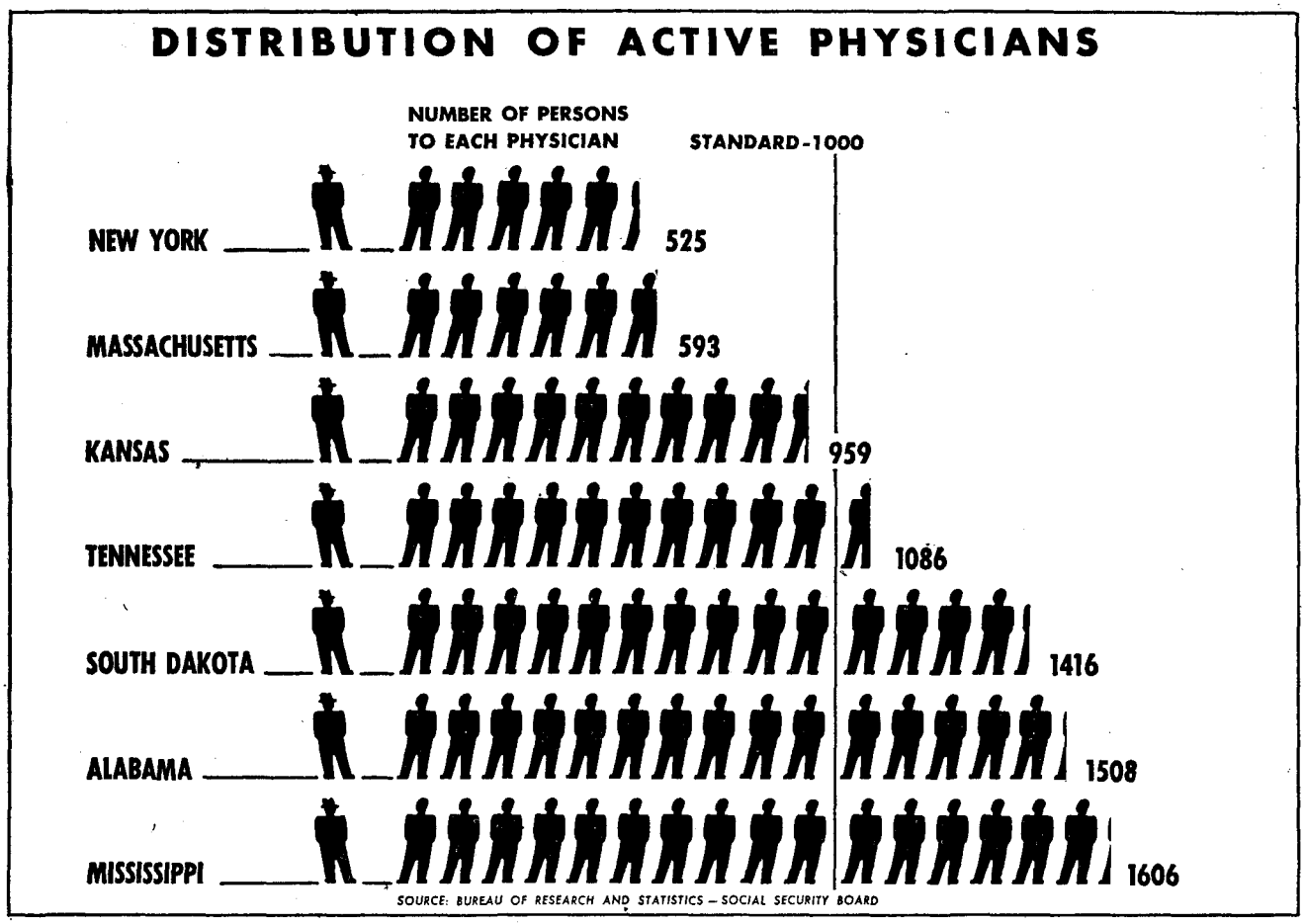

CHARTS BY RAMON GORDON

medical care, tremendous sums of public money now spent for institutional care of advanced tuberculosis cases would be saved.

The same reasoning applies to increased expenditures for medical education and research. We need more doctors, dentists, nurses and medical technicians, especially in rural, low-income communities. But what is the use of training more such personnel if there is to be no effective cash demand for their services in the places where they are needed? A really effective health program must wait upon the adoption of an easier, better method of paying for medical care—a method which will enable everyone, regardless of financial status or place of residence, to enjoy the full benefits of modern medical science.

There are some who claim this can be achieved through voluntary health insurance. But the accomplishments of such plans to date do not lend plausibility to this contention. Voluntary plans have been in operation for many years, but even the most successful of them—Blue Cross—has to date enrolled only about 19 percent of the population. Moreover, the Blue Cross gives a very inadequate degree of protection. Its members are usually insured against hospital bills only, which account for no more than about 13 percent of medical expenses.

About four percent of the people also have some degree of protection against doctor bills through membership in voluntary plans sponsored by medical societies. But the benefits are drastically limited and there is no provision for preventive services, and little, if any, for care in ordinary illness usually treated in the doctor's office or at home. Probably not more than a fraction of one percent of the people in this country are members of voluntary plans which provide fairly comprehensive care, including the routine and special preventive services which are an indispensable part of high-quality medical care. Unfortunately, few people can afford them.

There is no good reason to assume that the partial-coverage voluntary plans will maintain even their present slow rate of growth. Conditions have been unusually favorable for such plans in recent years. Employment and purchasing power have been higher than ever before. During the war the excess-profits tax made it possible for employers to enroll their workers in voluntary plans at negligible cost to industry. Already there is evidence that the growth of the plans is slacking off. During 1947 the rate of increase in Blue Cross membership was only about half as great as in 1946.

It seems obvious, therefore, that the subject of nationwide compulsory health insurance ought to have a high place on the agenda of the National Health Assembly. Unfortunately, though President Truman is said to be "firmly committed" to compulsory health insurance, the Truman brand of "firm commitment" is a dubious article these days. Of much greater

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significance is the attitude of Oscar R. Ewing, the new Federal Security Administrator, who believes that there are many "non-controversial" health issues upon which general agreement leading to action can be reached.

All things considered, it looks as if advocates of a vigorous, realistic health program can expect little from the present Administration. The Republicans, on the other hand, have no health program at all. The Taft-Smith-Ball-Donnell bill (S. 545), which proposes to dole out medical care on a charity basis to people with low incomes, was drafted primarily to head off enactment of compulsory health insurance. As long as the Administration does not press for action on health insurance, the Republicans are not likely to bring the Taft bill out of cold storage.

PLAYING POLITICS WITH THE HEALTH ISSUE

by Helen Fuller

IF HARRY S. TRUMAN and Robert Alfonso Taft are the presidential nominees of their two parties this year, the state of the nation's health may be a hot campaign issue. On this one point at least, their views differ as widely as did those of Herbert Hoover and Franklin Roosevelt.

Both Truman and Taft have been active in the matter. Opposing bills they are sponsoring have deadlocked Congress on health legislation, and Taft's supporters have come out in opposition to the National Health Assembly, called by the Truman Administration to draft a ten-year program to raise the national health level.

On health, President Truman can match his record proudly with that of Roosevelt, at least as far as verbal expressions are concerned. He is the first President to address a special message to Congress on the subject, and to repeat his demand for an adequate medical-care program in budget and other messages to follow. In November, 1945, Truman asked Congress to approve:

1. More hospitals and more doctors —in all areas of the country where they are needed.

2. Adequate public-health services, including an expanded maternal and child-health program.

3. Additional medical research and medical education.

4. Insurance against the costs of medical care.

5. Protection against the loss of earnings during illness.

The Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, embodying the President's proposals, was promptly introduced. Now, almost two and a half years later, the Senate Committe on Education and Labor has just completed hearings on the measure and has not yet decided what action it will take on it.

Taft promptly accepted Truman's challenge to make health a political issue for 1948. After he and Chairman James E. Murray (D, Mont.) of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor had quarreled a few times in the opening hearings on the Administration bill, Taft came up with a bill of his own which he did not deny that the American Medical Association had helped him to prepare.

While the political struggle over these two measures has gone on, the health of the nation has continued to suffer. Seven million people in the US fall victim to sickness or disability during every 24-hour period. Most or all of the 97 million Americans who could not afford all the medical care they required in 1945 had to forgo needed treatment during 1946 and 1947 (AMA Medical Economics Bureau figures). And the 82 percent of Americans who, when questioned in 1944, indicated in a national public-opinion poll that they believed something must be done to make it easier for people to get medical care, are still waiting in 1948—and going into debt for doctor bills.

The Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill is a moderate approach to the national health problem. For years the federal government has engaged in steadily expanding programs for health and medical research, largely as assistance to state health programs. Health care for the individual citizen, which was the greatest need, was also the greatest gap.

The National Health Insurance Act (W-M-D bill) would meet this need by a national program of insurance through which most workers would contribute a small part of their earnings and in return would be entitled to the medical care needed, with no questions asked. The program would be administered by representatives of the taxpayers—the consumers—rather than by any proprietary group from the medical profession.

About 85 percent of our entire population would be covered under the present bill. Under this insurance, they would receive needed preventive, diagnostic or curative services—by their family physician, or by specialists when required. Hospital care, laboratory and X-ray service, medicines, special appliances and eyeglasses, would all be available, plus dental and home-nursing care as soon as funds permitted.

All qualified doctors, dentists, nurses and hospitals would be eligible to participate in the national program, but only if they wished. If they joined, they would have the right to reject patients and to decide whether they preferred to be paid by salary, fee or some other method.

Senator Taft and some physicians who put their own profit and convenience above the general welfare do not like this proposal. The American Medi-

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cal Association is against any federally subsidized health-insurance plan, and along with its protégé, the National Physicians' Committee, helped draft and support the Taft bill (S.545) only when it became apparent that the country was going to insist on *some* action from Congress. The Taft bill would do no more than provide handouts of federal money to the states to cover what are now "bad risks" in the medical business. It is a charity program, in line with the general Taft philosophy, providing free medical care only to "indigent" families who can prove by a means test that they are too poor to pay.

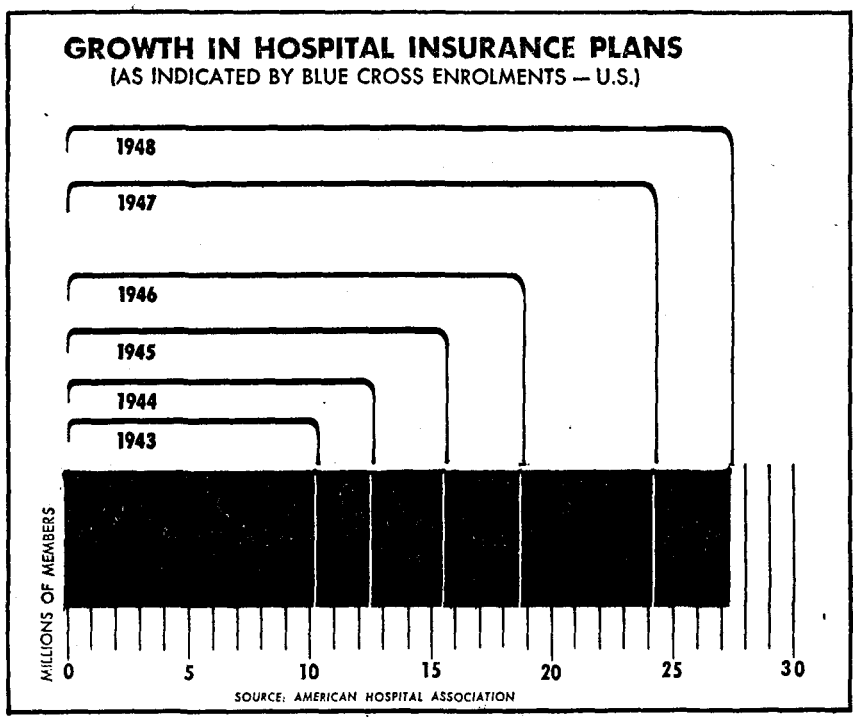
The Taft plan would be run by the states according to the dictates of the American Medical Association. Under the administrative provisions of the bill, the new "health agency" would have to be headed by a physician who would oversee operating divisions which in turn must be headed by a physician.

There is a clause in Taft's bill that reads: "It is the policy of the US . . . to make available medical, hospital, dental and public-health services to every individual regardless of race or economic status." But nowhere in the bill are there provisions for enforcing these beautiful promises. The federal money appropriated would be allocated among those states which chose to match these funds with their own to carry out a program of medical assistance for "low-income" families—but with the joker that each state would be allowed to count the money it *now* spends for "similar purposes" as a part of its contribution. Thus, wealthier states would not have to put up any additional money, while the poorer states, least able to afford a matching program, would be discouraged from participating.

In actual effect, the Taft bill would require people who could not pay for the medical care they were seeking to take a pauper's oath or pass a means test in order to get help. Only children who were duly certified as coming from low-income families would be given medical and dental attention.

The Taft program is a medical dole for those who are willing to beg for it. Even this kind of charity would be provided for probably not more than 10 percent of our population, since pitifully small funds are requested and experts estimate that the cost of administering a means test might be far higher than the cost of the benefits.

At one of the earliest hearings on the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, Senator Taft roared out at Chairman Murray, "It is to my mind the most socialistic measure that this Congress has ever had before it." Ironically, Taft's own bill is much closer to "socialized medicine" than is Murray's. With a large enough appropriation to extend its benefits to everyone, and with the means test deleted, the Taft bill would become a truly "radical" program.



Both the American Medical Association and the National Physicians' Committee (NPC), two of the smartest and best-heeled lobbies on Capitol Hill, might be at a loss to know how to defend themselves against such long-range possibilities. But few groups have done a more effective job of protecting their immediate interests. AMA "consultants" are always available to assist members of the Senate and House committees. Joe Lawrence, chief full-time AMA representative in Washington, was one of the highest-paid registered lobbyists last year. The NPC, propaganda arm of the AMA, officially reported having spent $345,000 in 1947 lobbying against national health insurance. About 80 percent of this money, the report showed, came from doctors and medical societies, about 20 percent from drug companies. The NPC protected the names of its individual donors by advising them to make their checks for $499.99 to escape the requirement that contributors of $500 or more to lobbying activities be officially listed with Congress. For 1948, the organization is asking double its 1947 budget.

But Doctor Marjorie Shearon, a former government employee and a personal crusader against "socialized" health-insurance plans, is rated by some as even more effective than these well-organized pressure boys. Early in the history of the national-insurance bill, witnesses observed that Senator Forrest C. Donnell (R, Mo.), who had quickly assumed the role of prosecuting attorney against witnesses for the Truman Administration's proposal, asked his sharpest questions from bits of paper passed him by a little woman who sat at his elbow. Dr. Shearon, it turned out, was paid by the Republican

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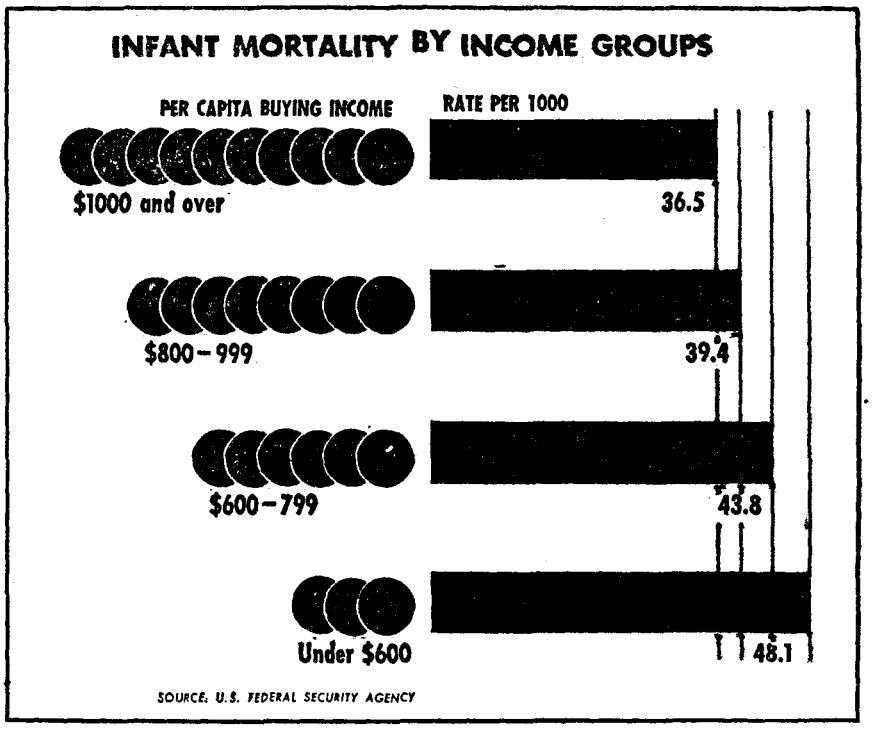
National Committee to help Donnell and Taft block an adequate medical-care program. When the Republican National Committee became embarrassed by Dr. Shearon's lobbying, Taft established her as a consultant for the Senate Labor Committee.

Dozens of large and influential labor and citizens' groups are lined up against Senator Taft and Doctor Shearon and the AMA bloc. But they have not matched the enthusiasm of those zealots. The Committee for the Nation's Health, the clearing-house organization for groups supporting the President's health program, was supplied with only one-tenth as much to spend last year as the NPC had alone. The organizations favoring the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill are concentrating now on preventing Senate committee members from voting to report out the Taft bill favorably. They think they may have enough influence to block it. But thus far, they have not mobilized their memberships in anything like the strength that will be necessary to force a favorable vote on the W-M-D bill.

Meanwhile the AMA and the NPC are busy at the other end of Washington, doing their best, first to wreck, and now to keep under control, the National Health Assembly which will meet May 1-4. When Oscar R. Ewing, President Truman's political adviser and Federal Security Administrator, refused to be intimidated by the AMA's early blast against holding such a conference at all, the medical monopolists changed their tactics. Officially, the AMA expressed its intention of coöperating, although it still insisted it was outlandish of Ewing to have given the organized medical profession less than a majority position on the steering committee for the meeting. Soon, however, the NPC announced a cartoon contest, in a full-page ad in *Editor and Publisher,* offering $3,000 in prizes for the best published cartoons against health insurance. The scheme backfired when *Editor and Publisher* editorially branded the "contest" a "bribe" and called upon professional journalism societies to "take a firm stand against such contests." Cartoonists and editors all over the country joined in denouncing the trick. But no one doubts that the AMA party liners will continue to harass the government conference in yet other ways.



CHARTS BY RAMON GORDON

Taft has had nothing to say about the plans for the National Health Assembly. He probably figures that even if the Assembly produces constructive results, he will be able to trump this Truman ace by forcing his bill through the Senate before the time for the national party conventions. Taft action versus Truman talk would be his boast. The Taft health bill is one of the trinity of "humanitarian" measures which the Senator from Ohio has carefully prepared over the last several years for quick passage during May and early June of 1948. The Taft bills for federal aid to the states on education, housing and health are a special treat their author has been saving up for the needy voters.

In the case of the health bill, at least, there is reason to believe that Taft intended to let it die after passing the Senate. Chances now are that this shabby trick will fail, that the Taft bill will remain tied up in the Senate Labor Committee, where it is at the moment. If the National Health Assembly stirs the people's concern for their own health, the Senate committee will hear about it and vote against the Taft bill accordingly.

Widespread enthusiasm for the Assembly's program may also speed passage of several other less important health bills now pending. One, a stop-gap measure designed to deal with one major problem until such time as a general health bill can be passed, is the national school-health-services bill, which would authorize federal grants to help states provide specific aids in the school-health field. Another, to set up a National Institute of Dental Research, already passed by the Senate, could be forced through the House this year by strong public pressure. A sizable sum for cancer research will almost certainly be voted even without additional public lobbying. The Assembly might well mobilize the extra sentiment for more funds for further Public Health Service research in other degenerative diseases.

But clearly it will take more years and much more energy, on the part of the Administration as well as of public-minded lobbies, to force the passage of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, the first step in an adequate program of protection.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

QUEST FOR THE MIND

by James R. Newman

IN SUBSTANCE and style these lectures (*The Physical Background of Perception*; Oxford, $3.25) by the world-famous physiologist, E. D. Adrian, are an exciting and distinguished contribution to science. The classic problem of the relationship between body and mind, the subject of endless specula tion in philosophy and extensive investigations in psychology, is here approached from the standpoint of its measurable, electrical aspects. The fact that the inquiry is scarcely related in any immediate or obvious way to the more pressing problems of our turbulent, paranoiac times does not diminish its scientific importance. It would, I think, be better for the life expectancy of us all if a somewhat larger portion of contemporary scientific effort were equally innocent in purpose.

The nature of mind and its relation to the operations of the brain are ancient and honorable objects of thought, but progress in mastering the problems has been insignificant. Almost insurmountable difficulties are encountered in the bare task of defining the basic concepts of mind and consciousness. Philosophers have manfully made the attempt, but their conclusions, even if esthetically persuasive, are of little use to the experimentalist. The use of thought to understand thought, the search by the imagination for its own essence, poses the highest challenge to the flexibility and resources of scientific method.

Our knowledge of the physical nervous system itself has more definite landmarks. Physiologists and anatomists have gathered detailed, accurate information about the brain, and especially about its outer layer, the cerebral cortex, from which hundreds of thousands of nerve fibers wind and twist through the body like the snakes of a delicate Medusa. Brilliant researches by the incomparable Sir Charles Sherrington, among others, have greatly increased our understanding of the integrative action of the nervous system, of the brain's functions as receptor and interpreter of messages from the outside world, as coördinator, to a large extent, of the reactions of the body itself.

Some of the more promising advances have resulted from the study of the electrical commerce of the nervous system. It has been established that the myriad nerve fibers in the human frame (and in that of other animals of higher order) are linked in a telegraphic system, over the channels of which messages are carried from any source of stimulus to junction points in appropriate regions of the cortex.

When the sense organs react to light, sound or touch, they initiate electrical waves which travel toward the cerebral cortex, following one another in series, their voltage constant regardless of the intensity of the stimulus, their frequency (*i.e.*, the number of waves per unit of time) varying between 10 to 100 per second as long as the messages are being dispatched. Stimuli are distinguished as to source by the routes of their produced impulses and by the particular region of the cortex where they are received; they are interpreted as to content—much of this is still conjecture—by the frequency and total number of the electrical waves.

All nervous communication appears to be of this electrical character. In examining the behavior of the brain, the physiologist must in effect first "tap" its lines of communication. By studying the troughs and peaks of electrical activity in the cortex itself, he gains a one or two-dimensional insight into what is probably a multi-dimensional phenomenon. He observes, for example, that the cortex produces *maps*, usually in miniature but sometimes, as in the case of certain optical phenomena, vastly magnified, of the events at the body surface. There is, in other words, an order and a fixed relationship between the points on the body and the points of the cerebral cortex—as phrenologists have so long insisted.

Consider how the mapping operation works in a simple case. When someone steps on my toe, my nervous system informs me of the nuisance by a signal. The pressure initiates a sequence of physical and chemical changes, accompanied by electrical currents culminating in a brain map. The map itself may resemble the flashing board of a railroad switching tower, giving the changing positions of the trains on the various lines. The electrical points of the brain map may actually form a tiny contour of the affected toe area. But our ignorance as to what occurs *after* the electrical map appears is profound. The brain certainly acts on the information conveyed by the map, but how? While the pressure is on my toe I may react in various ways, pursuing a combination of rational or irrational courses. The nature of the machinery and functions involved—whether I pull my foot away, upbraid the offender, suffer in silence or plot revenge—are obscure. The same is of course true in problems of a higher order arising in the transmission and interpretation of (and reaction to) more complex messages, such as the contours of Lana Turner, the content of a page of differential equations, a Schönberg score or the image of a hockey match.

The most valuable projection area of the brain is where the maps corresponding to optical stimuli are formed. There stimuli may be magnified enormously, so that a small il-

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luminated point produces an electrical map over a cortical area 10,000 times as large as the area of the stimulus.

Despite these advances in the study of the brain, little is known about the phenomenon of consciousness. At what point, if ever, do the electrical patterns of the brain rise into the region of *mind?* One series of discoveries which may ultimately furnish a guide through the labyrinths of mental behavior are those relating to the *cortical rhythm.* In 1929, Hans Berger discovered that electrical oscillations take place in the brain even when there is no apparent outer stimulus. If electrodes are attached to the skull of a non-stimulated, "inattentive" person, there is evidence of a steady 7-to-10-a-second rhythm of electrical wave frequencies (the α rhythm). Anything that provokes attention will change the pattern and the number of the oscillations.

Diagrams in Adrian's book show the flickering waves of the rhythm in a drowsy man, the waves suddenly becoming steep when the eyes are opened, and falling again as they close. The disruptive effect of auditory stimuli is also shown. There is reason to believe that the α rhythm is controlled by, or related to, the deeper brain centers where the "hobgoblin" who directs our consciousness has his perch. That this is a well-protected shelter is shown by the fact that even widespread injuries to the cerebral cortex, the outer sheath of the brain, does not necessarily produce loss of consciousness.

The electrical activities of the brain have been graphically and poetically described by Sherrington:

> A scheme of lines and nodal points, gathered together at one end into a great raveled knot, the brain, and at the other trailing off to a sort of stalk, the spinal cord. Imagine activity in this shown by little points of light. Of these some stationary flash rhythmically, faster or slower.
>
> Others are traveling points streaming in serial lines at various speeds. The rhythmic stationary lights lie at the nodes. The nodes are both goals whither converge, and junctions whence diverge, the lines of traveling lights. Suppose we choose the hour of deep sleep. Then only in some sparse and out-of-the-way places are nodes flashing and trains of light points running. The great knotted headpiece lies for the most part quite dark. . . .
>
> Should we continue to watch the scheme we should observe after a time an impressive change which suddenly accrues. . . . The great topmost sheet of the mass, where hardly a light had twinkled or moved, becomes now a sparkling field of rhythmic flashing points with trains of traveling sparks hurrying hither and thither. It is as if the Milky Way entered upon some cosmic dance. Swiftly the head mass becomes an enchanted loom where millions of flashing shuttles weave a dissolving pattern, always a meaningful pattern though never an abiding one. The brain is waking and with it the mind is returning.

May we expect that further advances of science will permit of a purely mechanical explanation of the brain and of mind and consciousness? We have a reasonable knowledge of the cortex functioning as a screen, but the facts adduced do not confirm a naïve belief in the brain as a mere calculating machine. It is known that a tune may be recognized whether its pitch is high or low, that a triangle or letter may be recognized regardless of size or position. This is evidently something that can be "learned" as skilled movements can be learned. (For example, having learned to write with our fingers, we can then practise the art, even if not gracefully, with the toes.)

"These facts—of stimulus equivalence and of the transfer of learned reactions—are a recognized stumbling block to all simple mechanical hypotheses of habit formation: they cannot be explained purely in terms of particular pathways which have been repeatedly exercised and have therefore acquired a special facility in transmission." It thus becomes impossible to represent the nervous system as a simple series of mapping machines unless an element be added which will discharge the higher function of abstraction. While machines may be constructed, at least in imagination, to react (by recognition) to a large number of set patterns, it is at present even theoretically impossible to design a machine which will go beyond a predetermined program. (If this could be done, I suppose our worst fears that the machine will one day take its place in the evolutionary scheme of things would have been realized.)

The brilliant Kenneth Craik, who before his early and tragic death worked in the Psychological Laboratory at Cambridge, made the ingenious proposal that thinking "depends on the operation of various nervous mechanisms which produce symbolic models of physical reality." Thus the models made in the brain would consist in part of the electrical maps of external reality, in part of symbols representing factors of experience and learning; figuratively, these elements could be shifted about like tiny pieces on a miniature chessboard or like mathematical symbols during trial-and-error operations for the purpose of envisaging probable future patterns of outside events and of formulating policies of action. The adaptability and plasticity of the models, the individual's ability both to make correct models and to preserve them in clear focus until their features and their implications were understood, would determine the clarity and effectiveness of his thought processes.

No one could be satisfied with this physical analogy for mental operations. Craik was certainly aware of its limitations. Yet it is an undeniable stimulus to further investigation along what may prove to be fruitful lines.

If ever the day comes when the operations of mind are clearly understood, we shall, I fear, still be plagued by the problem raised in Sir E. T. Whittaker's parable:

> The observation of phenomena cannot tell us anything more than that the mathematical equations are correct: the same equations might equally represent the behavior of some other material system. For example, the vibrations of a membrane which has the shape of an ellipse can be calculated by means of a differential equation known as Mathieu's equation: but this same equation is also arrived at when we study the dyna-

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mics of a circus performer, who holds an assistant balanced on a pole while he himself stands on a spherical ball rolling on the ground.

If now we imagine an observer who discovers that the future course of a certain phenomenon can be predicted by Mathieu's equation, but who is unable for some reason to perceive the system which generated the phenomenon, then evidently he would be unable to tell whether the system in question is an elliptic membrane or a variety artist.

So far as what is happening in the world today is concerned, I have myself no confusion about the nature of the system. It is all due to a little man trying to keep his balance on a spherical ball. I even know his name.

SOUTH AMERICAN STYLE

THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTH AMERICA: THE NORTHERN REPUBLICS, by Arthur P. Whitaker (American Foreign Policy Library: Harvard University Press; $3.50).

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER'S volume, the latest in the illuminating American Foreign Policy Library series, edited by Sumner Welles, does not require headlines to give it merit; of its own right it is an objective and quietly intelligent survey of political, social and economic conditions in the so-called "Bolivarian" countries of Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia. But the background it provides to the latest journalistic sensation from our "Caribbean defense zone" makes it especially useful at this moment.

The author, with all due respect to Secretary of State Marshall and current hysteria, is not greatly impressed by the Red peril. Writing not very long before the Bogota uprising, he notes the "nervous twittering" in the United States about South American communism. He adds that the greatest danger to the maintenance of stable democratic governments in the republics he was studying is revolution from the Right. As a result of the impact of "titanic competition" between the US and the USSR, new political lines are forming. The rising middle classes, opposed to communism because they are Catholics and to democracy because of their suspicion of the United States, are, he believes, turning to a Spanish-American version of Franco's Falange, as they have already done in Peron's Argentina. He quotes with approval a writer in the newspaper, *El Liberal*, of Bogota, who holds that "the middle class is in control of Colombia, Peru and Venezuela, and the danger is not that it will fail to check the rise of communism but that, in the hope of protecting itself against economic ruin, it will aid in riveting 'creole fascism' on these countries."

In recent years, Whitaker says, anti-communism has assumed the proportions of a crusade. "It reflects," he adds, "the foreign policy of the Vatican. It is also a product of the social tension that exists in all of these countries, for the label 'communist' is pasted on all left-wing elements, especially the more militant labor organizations. Like anti-Protestantism, anti-communism is nourished by Hispanidad—the neo Pan-Hispanic movement—which plays up both of these phobias in its propaganda."

Although Colombia is politically the most advanced and stable of the five countries, it, like the others, suffers from poverty, ignorance, educational backwardness and the semi-feudal status of its peasantry. Its once powerful Liberal Party has produced no effective new leaders to take the place of the faltering older ones. In fact, a majority of the Liberal leaders have been satisfied to take a minor place in a governing coalition dominated by the Conservatives and in which the popular progressive forces are not represented. It is a coalition which, originally formed to protect national unity, has come to be regarded, even by the younger Liberal leaders, as a permanent arrangement. Whitaker looks upon it as an "abdication of leadership" and the abandonment of a liberal political program in a land greatly in need of the progress that might be brought about by one. Thus, despite its comparative advantages, Colombia is in the sort of social and economic condition in which drastic reforms, either peacefully or by violence, seem inevitable.

If the Communists can be accused of taking advantage of such inevitable revolutionary upsets to advance their own cause, the American propensity for laying even spontaneous social protests to Russian plotting is almost as reprehensible. As Whitaker says, we have a curious way of misunderstanding the problems of our Southern neighbors and blaming them on the machinations of whichever nation happens to be our rival at the time. Once it was Germany; "now it is Moscow, and the threat has been changed almost overnight from nazism to communism." The truth is that the danger to us in South America is political and economic backwardness and our predilection for aiding reaction.

The author's pre-mortem estimate of Jorge Eliecer Gaitan, whose assassination was the cause of the Bogota outbreak, is not especially favorable. Gaitan, leader of the left-wing Liberals who refused to follow the right-wing into the Conservative coalition, was strongly against the "exploitation of the Colombian masses by an alliance between the oligarchies of both parties." Whitaker notes, however, that Gaitan was compared by his enemies to Hitler and Peron and that "his earlier career gave added point to the comparison, for, educated in the Italy of Mussolini, he had established a short-lived organization of the Fascist type after his arrival in Colombia."

The most backward states of the Bolivarian area are Ecuador and Bolivia. Both of them suffered severely from military defeat at the hands of a neighbor: Ecuador in her undeclared war with Peru, which was settled on highly unfavorable terms in 1942; and Bolivia in her unsuccessful Gran Chaco war with Paraguay (1932 to 1935). Socially semi-feudal, politically unstable and economically weak, their prospects are so meager that, by comparison, Colombia, Venezuela and Peru, whose current situations are far from happy, seem fortunate and progressive. The great Bolivar called Colombia a debating society, Venezuela a barracks and Ecuador a convent, and the author, adding that Bolivia is half

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barracks and half company-store and Peru a Society of Colonial Dames, believes the definitions still stand.

RICHARD WATTS JR.

MONTY'S STORY

NORMANDY TO THE BALTIC: Twenty-First Army Group, by Field Marshal the Viscount Montgomery of Alamein. Illustrated with maps. (Houghton Mifflin Company; $5).

PERSONS LOOKING FOR a sharp, racy, chatty answer to the charges against "Monty the Master" made by Ralph Ingersoll in *Top Secret* and Bob Allen in *Lucky Forward*, may bypass Field Marshal Montgomery's account of the war in Western Europe. With rather good taste in light of the severe personal attacks, although he is somewhat on the defensive and sometimes vague, Montgomery has established his version of the War in the West.

In pungent but technical style, he has set down the high-level strategy which helped to forge the crushing defeat inflicted on the Germans in 1944 and 1945. There are few if any startling revelations in this account; rather he has added one more link to the chain of stories which, when finally put together, will enable the historian to evaluate the decisions made at that time.

Most conspicuous of the weaknesses in the book is the disproportionate space devoted to various vital engagements. Although the battles of Normandy and the Ardennes (Battle of the Bulge) were undoubtedly the two most decisive encounters of the War in the West, Montgomery allots 180 pages to the Battle of Normandy and only 12 pages to the Battle of the Bulge. I suppose a military man is easily carried away by the careful planning and development of tactics which took place in Normandy. Montgomery himself is rather proud to unfold in some detail the plans which he certainly was prominent in formulating, especially the fact that to a great extent the battle went according to those plans. And he spends considerable time in completely blowing out of the water Ingersoll's idea that the British were unable to advance in Normandy and so had to turn over the main effort to the Americans.

Montgomery is not the only one who contends that the Allied plan in Normandy was to tie up the major portions of German mobile forces, especially armor, in the British sector while preparing for a break-through by the Americans to the south. Every top commander seems to agree with this.

By the use of excellent maps, he shows that throughout the Battle of Normandy the bulk of the German armor was leaning against the British sector (never less than 500 tanks and sometimes as high as 725, compared to a maximum of 215 on the American sector).

Montgomery also develops two other vital points: first, the tremendous importance of the feint toward the Pas de Calais area which tied up the entire German Fifteenth Army until almost the very end of the Battle of Normandy; and second, the vague and indecisive manner in which the Germans met the Allied landings—as Monty says, the "wet hen" tactics of frantically running back and forth from one hot spot to another.

In addition to major gaps in Montgomery's account of the Battle of the Bulge, the reader will regret that Monty has not provided more information as to why the Falaise pocket was not closed entirely, when apparently we might have cut off all of the remaining German forces in Europe. However, one must note that there were 19 German divisions caught in this pocket, with quantities of guns, tanks and men, and only a much smaller group of Allies hemming them in. If you want to take the word of the leading US tank-platoon commander, he'll tell you we were thrown back at Falaise, not ordered back by Monty,

At the conclusion of the war, Robert E. Merriam, then an Army captain, was assigned to write the five-volume official report of the Battle of the Bulge; subsequently he prepared a popular version of this material under the title, Dark December *(Ziff-Davis).*

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when we tried to close the pocket.

Montgomery joins with Patton, and probably Bradley, in stating that he thought the war could have ended in the fall of 1944 by a concerted push with one army which would have penetrated deep into Germany on a narrow front. However, he disagreed with these gentlemen as to the location of such a thrust. By coincidence he thought it should take place in the north, where his troops were located. He describes the operations in Holland and emphasizes, perhaps without realizing it, that the Germans had somehow rebounded rather rapidly from their rout in France. Careful students of the War in the West will conclude, in my opinion, that our supply situation was such that we could not have pushed through the Germans in the fall, no matter which front we had tried.

Normandy to the Baltic is a book for historians, not an impassioned defense of Montgomery's actions. One wishes, however, that Montgomery had spoken with greater candor on certain of the discussions and the problems leading up to various decisions, and more specifically about some phases of the European operation. We hope that General Eisenhower will go into considerably more detail.

ROBERT E. MERRIAM

ESCAPE INTO ETHICS

MAN FOR HIMSELF, by Erich Fromm (*Rinehart and Company*; $3).

MUCH MODERN intellectual confusion is, as a British critic recently put it, "the result of substituting for social values the laws of the closed autonomous clinical world." Among the foremost of those who have attempted to counteract this tendency is Erich Fromm. His new book, *Man for Himself*, is a clear and forceful presentation, based on clinical studies and rich literary material.

Fromm has recognized that every emotional problem has an ethical side and that a biological orientation is not enough for understanding neurotic behavior. He appeals to the average man "to face his and his society's moral problems" and to have the "courage to be himself and to be for himself." He holds that "it is one of the characteristics of human nature that man finds his fulfilment and happiness only in relatedness to and solidarity with his fellow men."

Fromm presents specific types of relatedness to the world, stressing the difference of this point of view from Freud's conception of varieties of libido organization as the basis of character. "The whole personality of the average individual is molded by the way people relate to each other, and it is determined by the socio-economic and political structure of society to such an extent that, in principle, one can infer from the analysis of one individual the totality of the social structure in which he lives." The closest form of relatedness between two people is "productive love" in which the integrity of each is preserved and through which human maturity is expressed.

There are so many valuable details in this book that future work on psychoanalytic theory or social psychology will be unable to ignore it. But though Fromm is far in advance of other psychoanalytic writers, he still does not go far enough. He is nearer to existentialist thinking than he seems to realize. The fundamental question of human existence is not "what man is, how he ought to live," but the basic Hiroshima question, how to survive. "The growing doubt of human autonomy and reason" is not a spontaneous growth; it is instilled by the beneficiaries of the status quo with all the means at their command.

The problem of ethics is only secondarily psychological. Primarily, it is a social-historical problem. What we need to know is the essence of the social conditions reflected in the ethical systems of Aristotle, Spinoza, Dewey—and Fromm. It is true that man must learn to recognize "the dichotomies inherent in his existence." But recognition is not enough, since

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corresponding to the inner dichotomy is an outer social conflict. Don't we have to change the environment to enjoy reason, love and productive work? Fromm incorporates the real problems of society into his scheme of character types and thus minimizes the potency of external forces in society. That amounts to giving preference to subjective reality over the objective one. It is not enough to say that man "feels himself to be a commodity." Many people are.

What prevents Fromm from attaining a really progressive psychiatry is his attachment to the idea of a psycho-social parallelism. By that term I mean the current frame of reference according to which psychological experiences and social events form two series of cause and effect that run parallel to each other. It is not enough to concede that the two may meet somewhere (Fromm promises a separate volume on the social aspects). What is important is that they are inseparable, that they run not in two parallel streams but in one single stream. They are not two processes, but one.

Psycho-social parallelism is a static conception as inadequate as the theory of psycho-physical parallelism in psychology. On the basis of this conception, psychoanalysis cannot do justice to social factors. It can only analyze the forces operating in the individual —what I call the *microdynamic* factors. In every life, however, there are also forces that can be understood and expressed only in social or historical terms, *macrodynamic* factors. Neither microdynamic factors alone nor macrodynamic factors alone can provide a complete explanation.

The paramount ethical problem of our time poses itself so sharply that it pushes the microdynamic factors into the background. It is really an implacable conflict between two kinds of ethics: the ethics of those who pin their hope on the atom bomb destroying the people, and the ethics of those who count on the people destroying the bomb. That is the dilemma of man for himself. FREDRIC WERTHAM

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SUMMER REPLACEMENTS on the radio have not always been easy on the ears. Few of the hot-weather substitutes for the top shows stay on when the regular season's curtain rises again in the fall. I can think of only one of last year's hiatus shows—it went on early, in April—that weathered the winter. That one, "My Friend Irma," on CBS, bloomed to sponsorship and popular applause. It was worth it. But of the summer shows now being scheduled all over the radio map, I see none so far, even in blueprint, that promises any degree of excitement.

There are other plans, however, that should keep the air from becoming too dull as one after another of the better programs goes on vacation. The documentary mill is grinding and politics lies ahead.

On the political side, you might worry a moment about your favorite candidate's telegenic qualities. The television audience is still too small to make a big difference in the number of votes that might be won or lost this year on the basis of candidate comeliness. But by 1952 video will be in full swing.

A few weeks ago, I heard a functionary at Democratic National Headquarters weeping over the party's executive director, Gael Sullivan, who had appeared on television the night before, looking, to say the least, unappetizingly ghostly. This in spite of the fact that he is one of the handsomest young men in politics. When the presidency is at stake, campaign managers of 1952 may have to hire cosmeticians.

There may be an argument about the kind of coverage radio will give the third of the major conventions scheduled for Philadelphia, the one that is to nominate Henry Wallace and Glen Taylor. Both leading networks, NBC and CBS, have already indicated that they will give Wallace's candidacy parity with those of Dewey, Stassen and Warren on the Republican side. NBC and CBS, therefore, will hardly be in position to brush off the Wallace convention. And when two networks show the way, the remaining two must follow.

Before the conventions, both NBC and CBS are giving time to all the leading presidential contenders. NBC is showcasing each, in turn, on its "Living: 1948" program, Sundays, 4:35 to 5 p.m. CBS started earlier on this routine, setting up a special show for the purpose, "Presidential Timber," Wednesdays, 10:30 p.m.

The presidential would-be's should give "Living: 1948" the lift it has needed. Among the big-time documentaries, it started rather weakly, emphasizing for the most part subjects that are less than earth-shaking.

A documentary touching a subject usually handled on the radio with embarrassing timidity got itself on ABC's schedule. It is the "V.D." show, down for the night of April 29, 9:30 to 10:30 p.m. I intend to report on it, but I hope you have heard it yourself. Erik Barnouw, its writer, has been working with the US Public Health Service, trying to teach broadcasters how to handle this touchy subject without bowdlerization. His ABC script may set a pattern.

Realism in other areas has been achieved by CBS through its Documentary Unit. CBS's March contribution in that field was an examination of the community's over-all relationship to the school system. It was entitled "Report Card," and starred Franchot Tone. The piece was effective because Tone, who knows how to act, did so little of it in this instance. He just played it straight. The show came close to being an "actuality" program precisely for its underplaying.

In the last of its documentaries, "Play Ball," CBS really achieved actuality. This time, it cast real people in

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the principal roles. The story of baseball was told through the career of the Brooklyn Dodgers' great shortstop, Peewee Reese. The principals were Peewee himself, his wife, his mother, baseball's "Czar" Chandler, and several of the game's greats from the past and the present, winding up with Umpire Bill McGowan and Babe Ruth.

In preparation for that review, I had asked a 12-year-old friend, Edwin Gardiner, to listen and to note down his impressions of the show. He did. I wish I could quote from his review at length. But I shall give you his most significant observation:

"It was a good program because all the people appeared as themselves. Peewee was not acted, and those who were or are important to his career were on the air, people from real life. I would rather listen to real people telling of real things than to actors making up a story."

Maybe there is a lesson in this private Hooper poll, not only for documentarists but for many others in radio.

SAUL CARSON

THEATER: A-B-C

TWO PLAYS opened during the past fortnight about which I might write as violently deprecatory reviews as my colleagues, but I refrain from doing so. There is little point in specifying exactly how rotten a rotten egg is. It is enough to say that it is inedible.

The New York audience has recently cultivated a keen critical eye—for the inessential. It takes a curious satisfaction in beating dead dogs, and there is a school of criticism that has made itself a reputation for discrimination by indulging the pastime. These observations, stimulated by the unfortunate theatrical exhibits aforementioned, tempt me to set down certain principles upon which some of my thinking as a dramatic critic is based.

It is ordinarily taken for granted that the critic's first job on seeing a play is to state whether or not he likes it. For my part, I suggest that whether a critic likes or dislikes a particular play is almost as much a purely private matter as his reaction to Roquefort cheese or oyster stew—and consequently of small general value or interest. This is true no matter how engagingly the basic sentiments of approbation or disapproval are set forth. Likes or dislikes in themselves may represent no more than an individual accident or personality.

Criticism is not a science, but it should at least attempt to describe something more generally relevant than a whim. The kind of criticism that seeks to win followers for its perpetrator through an enumeration of his peculiar preferences and prejudices often makes entertaining reading, but usually ends by leaving the reader with a sense of merely sharing in the critic's conceit. When the critic says, "I prefer Saroyan's anarchy to Hellman's order," or "Barrie's sweet milk pleases me more than Coward's sour sauce" ("what a clever boy am I!"), it really matters very little whether or not one agrees, though of course it is always flattering to listen to the echoes of one's own notions.

Take the proposition "I like it!" From a critical standpoint, what actually counts here is the definition of the subject and the object: Who is "I" and what is "it"? There are critics whose work is a long essay in self-exposure and self-analysis. When Anatole France urged that the good critic is he who recounts his soul's adventures among masterpieces, he was avowing a penchant for a special category of criticism. What gives it validity is the fact that when you have finished with the critical writings of an Anatole France or a Bernard Shaw you have not only learned to know a man, but a whole attitude toward life which that man represents. The critic's sensibility serves as a magic mirror

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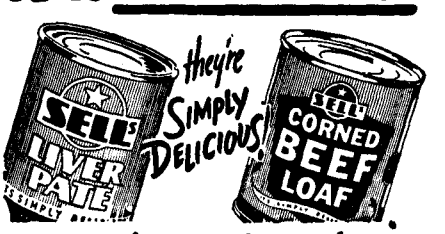

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in which the work of art is reflected.

Another sort of criticism—the one toward which I lean—hopes to define the "it"—the object—with which the "I"—the critic—has been brought into contact. This, of course, may finally prove as personal an activity as frankly subjective criticism, but its aim is to direct the reader's mind to a consideration of the stuff of which the object criticized is composed. Such criticism is not satisfied to indicate that something is "good," but tries to determine in exactly what way the thing under discussion is good, what it is good for, for whom it is good.

This criticism treats the object criticized not as an end in itself but as a key to something that reaches out and encompasses many things not immediately obvious within the confines of the art work itself. It sees art in terms of life. Its emphasis is not on the immediate pleasure or pain that the work of art may induce but on an interpretation of the factors which give it birth; the shape, substance and value of the material from which it has been made.

Are "The Respectful Prostitute" and "A Street Car Named Desire" good plays? The merit of the answer does not depend on its being affirmative or negative or on the eminence or popularity of the gentleman who offers the answer, but on the quality of insight into the plays themselves. I sometimes find it more illuminating to read a critic with whose conclusion I disagree than to read a review in which the critic simply renders the same "verdict" as mine. The measure of a dramatic criticism's worth is not in the bare opinion delivered, but in the degree and extent to which it *reveals* a play as a thing that exists in the world—and I don't mean just the world of entertainment. HAROLD CLURMAN

MOVIES: Just Fair

OVER IN Radio City, in a building that must adjoin *Time-Life,* is the skyscraper home of Janoth Publications. Earl Janoth (Charles Laughton) is about ten times as big a publisher as Henry Luce, if you can imagine anything so large, and he is the nasty kind of tycoon who docks a porter's pay for leaving the light on in a broom closet. Janoth, who is obsessed by clocks, has built down in the main lobby a beauty that tells the time all over the Janoth world. This monstrous piece of jewelry has little to do with subsequent events, but it makes a nice title—"The Big Clock."

The ingenious idea of this picture, taken from Kenneth Fearing's novel, is that one of Janoth's editors (Ray Milland), having built himself a reputation as an amateur missing-persons bureau, is assigned to discover the presumed murderer of his boss's doxie. The man he's looking for, as he knows too well, is himself; and the real murderer, as he soon finds out, is Janoth. The problem is to get himself off the hook, and to hang the fat little superman on it.

This situation should work up a lot more excitement than actually develops. The trouble, I think, lies in Laughton. Murder mysteries can tolerate all manner of excesses in character and situation, since they are essentially puzzles in deductive logic to which bizarre trappings only add a fillip. But "The Big Clock" is not a mystery; it is a battle of desperate personalities, and the one Laughton has created is so preposterous that it's impossible to get seriously worked up over his struggle to survive.

The press releases mention that "Janoth is the sort of role in which Laughton revels," and revel he certainly does—like a fat cat in a bowl of cream. But rolling around in a part in voluptuous self-satisfaction is not the same thing as acting. In this case it diverts attention from the story to the spectacle of Laughton being nasty. It would be good to see him soon in a role where he could revel a lot less

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and had to work a lot more. It's important to remember that Laughton is an actor.

Ray Milland's editor looks as though he might have corrected a proof in his time, but the really brilliant performer is George Macready as Janoth's lieutenant. Charming, disciplined, handsome, he has the look of narrow asceticism that big executives sometimes share with the more bigoted priesthoods. He looks really dangerous, while Laughton looks merely spoiled.

Elsa Lanchester gets all there is to be had out of a zany part that capitalizes on her mobile, elfin face. Like her husband, she can act, and it's about time the Laughton family was set to working at its craft again.

Except for the fact that it is Harry Baur's last picture and offers a final chance to squeeze a few dollars out of a great name, "Who Killed Santa Claus?" would never have been imported. It is like the sad posthumous volume that greedy executors sometimes scavenge out of a writer's rejected work.

"Who Killed Santa Claus?" is billed as a mystery comedy. It is far from funny, and the mystery is neither interesting nor solved. Baur struggles with a lame part and with a ponderous make-up that effectively disguises his wonderful face.

Someone should give us an account of the closing days of Baur's life. They must have been uncommonly bitter.

The screen version of Remarque's *Arch of Triumph* is a turgid melodrama with a very slow beat and a weakness for repeating itself. The book seems to have resisted screen adaptation. There was, as a matter of fact, a certain amount of infighting at the writing stage, and more people worked on the script than appear in the credits.

Charles Boyer and Ingrid Bergman play a pair of refugees who drift into Paris and into each other's lives in the months just before the outbreak of the last war. They both do well with the script as it was written, but they cannot avoid coming to a conclusion that is both confused and inconclusive. Ravic, the "ghost" surgeon, who ekes out a precarious but honorable career without passport or license, seems, as Boyer plays him, too mature emotionally to thrash through the rain of Paris in murderous pursuit of his former torturer.

Miss Bergman's inability to meet a crisis, the failure of her love before adversity, are better presented; but we don't get enough of her personality to have any confidence in its logic. We can supply for ourselves acceptable reasons for what she does, but, on the evidence, we could supply as good ones for her doing just the opposite. There are exciting implications in the theme of refugee psychology, but "Arch of Triumph" has escaped from them into the excitements of violence.

Along with Amok, *Letter from an Unknown Woman* is Stefan Zweig's best known novelette and the basis for his considerable reputation in this specialized narrative form. In the current film version, however, the story comes out as pure Biedermeier sentiment—stilted, unlikely, mawkish.

The spectacle of a pure and lovely woman (Joan Fontaine) hopelessly ensnared by a complete stinker (Louis Jourdan) may provide the analyst with a rich chapter, but as entertainment its pathetic possibilities are long since exhausted. So many of her sisters have preceded her down the tearful road that she looks a fool now for not recognizing the signposts.

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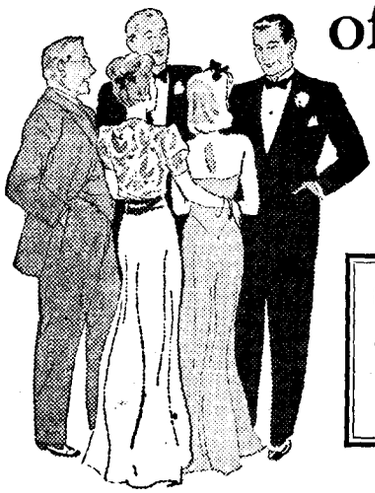

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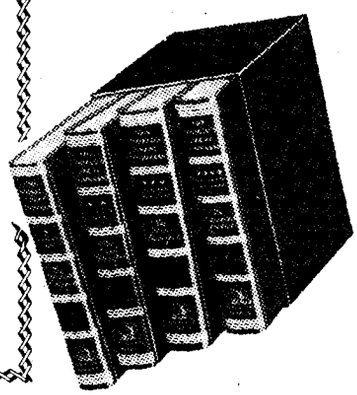

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